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## 史记选

SELECTIONS FROM  
RECORDS OF THE HISTORIAN

III

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Chinese-English

# 史记选

Selections from

Records of the Historian

III



(西汉) 司马迁 著

安平秋 校译

杨宪益 戴乃迭 英译

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## 季布栾布列传

### 【原文】

季布者，楚人也。为气任侠，有名于楚。项籍使将兵，数窘汉王。及项羽灭，高祖购求布千金，敢有舍匿，罪及三族。季布匿濮阳周氏。周氏曰：“汉购将军急，迹且至臣家，将军能听臣，臣敢献计；即不能，愿先自刭。”季布许之。乃髡钳季布，衣褐衣，置广柳车中，并与其家僮数十人，之鲁朱家所卖之。朱家心知是季布，乃买而置之田，诫其子曰：“田事听此奴，必与同食。”朱家乃乘轺车之洛阳，见汝阴侯滕公。滕公留朱家饮数日。因谓滕公曰：“季布何大罪，而上求之急也？”滕公曰：“布

### 【今译】

季布，是楚国人。仗义行侠，在楚国很有名。项籍派他率领军队，多次使汉王陷于困境。到项羽被消灭后，高祖悬赏千金捉拿季布，敢有窝藏的，连坐三族。季布躲在濮阳一个姓周的人家。周氏说：“汉朝悬赏捉拿将军很急，追查踪迹很快要到我家里了，将军如果能够听从我，我愿意替你出个计策；如果不能，我情愿先在你面前自杀。”季布答应了他。于是周氏给季布剃去头发套上铁锁，换上粗布衣服，让他坐进运棺材的车里，和周家的数十名家僮一起，到鲁县把他们卖给朱家。朱家心里知道是季布，就买了下来将他安排到田里去干活，并告诫他的儿子说：“田里的事情听由这个家奴自己去做，你一定要和他一起吃饭。”朱家于是坐轻便马车到洛阳，见汝阴侯滕公。滕公留朱家喝了几天酒。朱家乘机对滕公说：“季布犯了什么大罪，皇上捉他这么



## Ji Bu and Luan Bu

Ji Bu was a man of Chu, where he was well-known for his gallantry and spirit. Made a general by Xiang Yu, he worsted the king of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) on several occasions. After Xiang Yu perished, the emperor offered a reward of a thousand gold pieces for his capture, threatening anyone who dared to shelter him with the destruction of three classes of their relatives.

Ji Bu took refuge in Puyang with a man named Zhou, who told him, "The emperor is searching hard for you, general, and will soon trace you here. If you are willing to take my advice, I shall venture to propose a plan. If not, I had better kill myself."

Ji Bu agreed to his plan and let himself be shaved and dressed in coarse clothes, with an iron chain round his neck. Then he was sent in a covered wagon with several dozen slaves to be sold to Zhu Jia in Lu.

Zhu Jia, knowing that this was Ji Bu, bought him and set him to work on his farm. He instructed his son, "You must farm as this slave says and share your meals with him." Then he went by a one-horse carriage to Luoyang to see Xiahou Ying, marquis of Ruyin and Lord Teng. The latter entertained him for several days, and Zhu Jia found an opportunity to ask, "What is Ji Bu's great crime that the emperor is searching so hard for him?"



### 【原文】

数为项羽窘上，上怨之，故必欲得之。”朱家曰：“君视季布何如人也？”曰：“贤者也。”朱家曰：“臣各为其主用，季布为项籍用，职耳。项氏臣可尽诛邪？今上始得天下，独以己之私怨求一人，何示天下之不广也！且以季布之贤而汉求之急如此，此不北走胡即南走越耳。夫忌壮士以资敌国，此伍子胥所以鞭荆平王之墓也。君何不从容为上言邪？”汝阴侯滕公心知朱家大侠，意季布匿其所，乃许曰：“诺。”待间，果言如朱家旨。上乃赦季布。当是时，诸公皆多季布能摧刚为柔，朱家亦以此名闻当世。季布召见，谢，上拜为郎中。

### 【今译】

急？”滕公说：“季布好几次替项羽把皇上逼入困境，皇上怨恨他，因此一定要捉到他。”朱家说：“您看季布是个什么样的人？”滕公说：“是个贤能的人。”朱家说：“臣子各自替自己的主子尽力，季布替项羽尽力，这是他的职责而已。项氏的臣子难道能统统斩尽杀光吗？当今皇上刚刚得到天下，仅仅为了自己的私仇而四处搜捕这么一个人，这是告诉天下的人自己的心胸是多么不广阔！况且像季布这样贤能的人而汉朝搜捕他急成这样，这使他不是向北逃往匈奴，就是向南逃往南越。像这种嫉恨壮士反而逼他去帮助敌国的事情，就是伍子胥之所以会对楚平王掘墓鞭尸的缘故。您为什么不找个机会对皇上说说呢？”汝阴侯滕公心里知道朱家是一位大侠，料想季布就躲藏在他家中，便答应说：“好。”等到有了机会，滕公果然照朱家的意思向皇上进言。皇上于是赦免了季布。在这个时候，大家都赞赏季布能变刚为柔，朱家也因此而闻名当世。季布被皇上召见，感谢了皇上的赦免之恩，皇上任命他做郎中。

"Ji Bu often had him on the spot when he was fighting for Xiang Yu," replied Lord Teng. "The emperor bears him such a grudge that he has set his heart on capturing him."

"What is your opinion of Ji Bu?"

"An able man."

"Every subject serves his own master. Ji Bu, serving Xiang Yu, was doing no more than his duty. Does the emperor mean to kill all Xiang Yu's followers? The empire is newly won and if the emperor hounds one man on account of a private grudge, how narrow-minded the world is going to think him! Besides, if Ji Bu is an able man and the emperor hounds him like this, he will escape north to the Huns or south to the Yues. Goading a good man into helping an enemy state was what made Wu Zixu whip the grave of the king of Chu. Might you mention this to the emperor if an occasion arises?"

Lord Teng knew that Zhu Jia was noble-minded and guessed that Ji Bu was hiding with him, so he agreed. Later he found occasion to speak to the emperor as Zhu Jia had suggested, and Ji Bu was pardoned.

Ji Bu won general approval at the time for the way he adapted himself to circumstances, while Zhu Jia made a name for himself on this account too. Ji Bu was summoned to court, where he apologized to the emperor and was appointed an imperial guardsman.



## 【原文】

孝惠时，为中郎将。单于尝为书嫚吕后，不逊，吕后大怒，召诸将议之。上将军樊哙曰：“臣愿得十万众，横行匈奴中。”诸将皆阿吕后意，曰：“然。”季布曰：“樊哙可斩也！夫高帝将兵四十余万众，困于平城，今哙奈何以十万众横行匈奴中，面欺！且秦以事于胡，陈胜等起。于今创痍未瘳，哙又面谀，欲摇动天下。”是时殿上皆恐，太后罢朝，遂不复议击匈奴事。

季布为河东守，孝文时，人有言其贤者，孝文召，欲以为御史大夫。复有言其勇，使酒难近。至，留邸一月，见罢。季布因进曰：“臣无功窃宠，待罪河东。陛下无故召臣，此人必有以臣欺陛下。”

## 【今译】

孝惠帝的时候，季布担任中郎将。匈奴单于曾写信侮辱吕后，对吕后出言不逊，吕后大怒，召集众将领来商议这件事。上将军樊哙说：“我愿意带领十万兵马，在匈奴境内横冲直撞。”各位将领都迎合吕后的心意，说：“对。”季布说：“樊哙该杀！高祖带兵四十多万人，尚且被匈奴围困在平城，现在樊哙怎么可能凭十万人就在匈奴境内横冲直撞呢，真是当面骗人！况且秦朝正是因为对胡人用兵，才引起陈胜等的暴动。至今战争的创伤还没有医治好，樊哙又当面阿谀逢迎，企图使天下陷于动荡。”这时殿上的人都非常惊恐，太后退朝，就不再商议征伐匈奴的事了。

季布担任河东郡守，孝文帝的时候，有人推荐说他很贤能，孝文帝召见他，想任用他做御史大夫。又有人说他勇敢，爱喝酒使性子，令人难以亲近。季布到京城，留在宾馆里住了一个月，文帝见过就不理他了。季布因此向皇上进言说：“我无功而受宠，得以在河东担任郡守。陛下平白无故地召见我，这一定是有人拿



During the reign of Emperor Hui, while Ji Bu was captain of the imperial guards, the Hunnish khan sent a coarse and insulting letter to Empress Lü. In a rage, she summoned the generals for a consultation.

Fan Kuai the high marshal said, "Give me a hundred thousand men and the Huns will scatter before me."

Other generals, to please the empress, expressed approval.

But Ji Bu said, "Fan Kuai deserves to lose his head. The First Emperor, with more than four hundred thousand men, was nevertheless surrounded at Pingcheng. Now Fan Kuai with a hundred thousand will make the Huns scatter before him. A bare-faced lie! Besides, it was Qin's campaigns against the Huns that enabled Chen She and the rest to start a rebellion. The country has not yet recovered from the ravages of war, but Fan Kuai is flattering you to stir up fresh trouble for the empire."

The whole court was aghast. Empress Lü dismissed the generals, and no more was said about attacking the Huns.

In the reign of Emperor Wen, when Ji Bu was governor of Hedong, someone recommended him to the emperor, who summoned him to the capital with the intention of making him a chief counsellor. Then, however, it was reported that he was reckless, headstrong when in his cups, and hard to deal with. So after his arrival he was lodged in a government hostel for a month and then dismissed.

When he went to take his leave of the emperor, he said, "For no merit of mine, I was favoured with the governorship of Hedong, then received an unexpected summons to court, due no doubt to an unwar-



## 【原文】

下者。今臣至，无所受事，罢去，此人必有以毁臣者。夫陛下以一人之誉而召臣，一人之毁而去臣，臣恐天下有识闻之有以窥陛下。”上默然惭，良久曰：“河东吾股肱郡，故特召君耳。”布辞之官。

楚人曹丘生，辩士，数招权顾金钱。事贵人赵同等，与窦长君善。季布闻之，寄书谏窦长君曰：“吾闻曹丘生非长者，勿与通。”及曹丘生归，欲得书请季布。窦长君曰：“季将军不说足下，足下无往。”固请书，遂行。使人先发书，季布果大怒，待曹丘。曹丘至，即揖季布曰：“楚人谚曰‘得黄金百，不如得季布

## 【今译】

我来欺骗陛下。现在我到了，没有什么事情，就这样让我回去，这就一定有人在陛下面前讲我的坏话。陛下因为有一个人称赞我便召见我，因为有一个人诋毁我便让我回去，我担心天下有识之士听说了这件事就会由此看出您的深浅来了。”皇上默不作声，心中惭愧，过了好一会儿才说：“河东是我最重要的郡，所以特地召见你罢了。”季布便告辞回到河东任上。

楚人曹丘生，是一个能言善辩的人，曾多次用金钱巴结权贵。他侍奉权贵赵同等，与窦长君要好。季布听说这件事后，寄信劝窦长君说：“我听说曹丘生不是个有德的人，不要和他来往。”等到曹丘生回去时，要窦长君写封介绍信好去见季布。窦长君说：“季将军不喜欢你，你不要去。”曹丘生坚持请窦长君写了，于是拿着信走了。窦长君先派人给季布送信，季布果然大为愤怒，等着曹丘生到来。曹丘生到了，马上向季布长揖行礼说：“楚人有句谚语说‘得到黄金一百，不如得到季布一句允诺’，



ranted recommendation. Since my arrival, however, I have been given no new appointment but dismissed, due no doubt to some detractor. Apparently Your Majesty summoned me on one man's recommendation and dismissed me because another spoke ill of me. I fear that all intelligent men who hear this will know how to judge you, sir."

After a long, embarrassed silence the emperor said, "Hedong is a vital province in my eyes. That is why I sent for you." Then Ji Bu returned to his post.

An orator of Chu known as Master Caoqiu relied on influential connections to make money. He undertook certain tasks for Zhao Tong and other high officials, and was on good terms with Empress Jing's uncle, Dou Changjun. When Ji Bu knew this he wrote to warn Lord Dou, "I hear bad reports of Caoqiu Sheng. Better have nothing to do with the man!"

As Caoqiu Sheng was about to return to Chu, he asked Lord Dou for a letter of introduction to Ji Bu.

"General Ji has taken a dislike to you," said Lord Dou. "I advise you to steer clear of him."

But Caoqiu insisted on going. The letter of introduction was sent on ahead and, sure enough, Ji Bu was very angry as he waited for the orator.

Caoqiu, arriving, bowed to Ji Bu and said, "The men of Chu have a saying, 'A promise from Ji Bu is worth more than a hundred catties'

**【原文】**

一诺’，足下何以得此声于梁楚间哉？且仆楚人，足下亦楚人也。仆游扬足下之名于天下，顾不重邪？何足下距仆之深也！”季布乃大说，引入，留数月，为上客，厚送之。季布名所以益闻者，曹丘扬之也。

季布弟季心，气盖关中，遇人恭谨，为任侠，方数千里，士皆争为之死。尝杀人，亡之吴，从袁丝匿。长事袁丝，弟畜灌夫、籍福之属。尝为中司马，中尉郅都不敢不加礼。少年多时时窃籍其名以行。当是时，季心以勇，布以诺，著闻关中。

季布母弟丁公，为楚将。丁公为项羽逐窘高祖彭城西，短兵接，高祖急，顾丁公曰：“两贤岂相厄哉！”于是丁公引兵而还，

**【今译】**

您凭什么能在梁国、楚国一带获得这样的名声呢？况且我是楚国人，您也是楚国人。我周游天下到处宣扬您的大名，您却这样不重视我吗？您拒绝我怎么这么远呢！”季布于是十分高兴，把他请了进去，留住了几个月，待为贵宾，临走时又送他一份厚礼。季布的名声之所以更大，就是曹丘生替他宣传的。

季布的弟弟季心，勇气和胆略在关中最有名，待人恭敬谨慎，行侠仗义，方圆数千里之内，士人都争着为他尽力效死。他曾经杀了人，逃亡到吴国，躲在袁丝家里。他以服侍长辈之礼对待袁丝，像对待弟弟一样照顾灌夫、籍福等人。他曾经担任过中司马，中尉郅都也不敢不礼遇他。年轻人很多常常假冒他的名义在外行事。那个时候，季心以他的勇敢，季布以他的信用，闻名关中。

季布的舅舅丁公，是楚王项羽的将领。丁公曾经为项羽率军追困高祖于彭城之西，短兵相接，高祖危急，回头对丁公说：“两



of gold.' How did you make such a name for yourself in Liang and Chu? I am a native of Chu and so are you. Have I not done much to spread your fame through the world? Why should you be so prejudiced against me?"

Ji Bu was very pleased. He invited Caoqiu in and kept him for several months as his honoured guest, loading him with rich gifts when he left. It was indeed Caoqiu who helped to spread Ji Bu's fame.

Ji Bu's younger brother Ji Xin was so renowned within the Pass for his courtesy and chivalry that gentlemen for a thousand *li* around would risk their lives for him. Once he killed a man and fled to Wu to take refuge with Yuan Si. He treated Yuan Si as his senior and men like Guan Fu and Ji Fu as his juniors. When he served as major to the metropolitan commander Zhi Du, the latter had to show him respect. Many young men went about doing things in his name. For at that time Ji Xin's courage and Ji Bu's integrity were famed throughout the area within the Pass.

Ji Bu's maternal uncle, Lord Ding, was a general of Chu who had served under Xiang Yu and driven the Han emperor west of Pengcheng, where the two of them crossed swords. The emperor in desperation had turned to ask him, "Why should two good men harass each other like this?" Then Lord Ding led his forces back, allowing the emperor

### 【原文】

汉王遂解去。及项王灭，丁公谒见高祖。高祖以丁公徇军中，曰：“丁公为项王臣不忠，使项王失天下者，乃丁公也。”遂斩丁公，曰：“使后世为人臣者无效丁公！”

栾布者，梁人也。始梁王彭越为家人时，尝与布游。穷困，赁佣于齐，为酒人保。数岁，彭越去之巨野中为盗，而布为人所略卖，为奴于燕。为其家主报仇，燕将臧荼举以为都尉。臧荼后为燕王，以布为将。及臧荼反，汉击燕，虏布。梁王彭越闻之，乃言上，请赎布以为梁大夫。

使于齐，未还，汉召彭越，责以谋反，夷三族。已而枭彭越

### 【今译】

个贤能的人何必相互残害呢！”于是丁公带兵返回，汉王才得以脱险而去。等项王被消灭，丁公去拜见高祖。高祖将丁公在军营中示众，说：“丁公身为项王的臣子而不忠于项王，使项王丧失天下的，正是丁公。”于是杀了丁公，说：“让后代做人臣子的不要效法丁公！”

栾布，是梁国人。当初梁王彭越还是普通百姓的时候，曾与栾布交往。栾布家里穷，到齐地做工，在一家酒店里当雇工。过了几年，彭越离家到巨野一带当了强盗，而栾布被人劫去卖掉，在燕地当奴隶。栾布替他的主人报仇，燕国的将军臧荼推荐他做了都尉。臧荼后来当了燕王，任用栾布为将军。到臧荼反叛时，汉朝攻打燕国，俘虏了栾布。梁王彭越听说了这件事，就去请求皇上，赎回栾布让他做了梁国的大夫。

栾布奉命出使齐国，还没有回来，汉高祖召见彭越，指责他图谋反叛，将他父母、兄弟、妻子三族斩尽杀绝。行刑后又将彭



to escape. After Xiang Yu had been destroyed Lord Ding went to see the emperor, who denounced him publicly before the army.

"Lord Ding was disloyal to Xiang Yu," he said. "It was he who lost Xiang Yu his empire." He had him beheaded and warned, "Let no subject henceforward follow Lord Ding's example!"

Luan Bu was a man of Liang who befriended Peng Yue, king of Liang, when he was still a common citizen. Being hard pressed for money, they worked as hired hands in Qi and as waiters in a tavern. Some years later Peng Yue became a brigand in the Juye Marshes, but Luan Bu was captured and sold as a slave in Yan. Subsequently he avenged his master's death and General Zang Tu of Yan made him a commander. After Zang Tu became king of Yan, he made Luan Bu a general. When Zang Tu revolted, the army of Han attacked Yan and Luan Bu was captured. News of this reached Peng Yue, then king of Liang, who interceded with the emperor for Luan Bu's release and made him one of his ministers.

Luan Bu was sent as an envoy to Qi, but before his return the emperor summoned Peng Yue to court, accused him of treason and wiped out all his kinsmen. Peng Yue's head was displayed on the gate



### 【原文】

头于洛阳下，诏曰：“有敢收视者，辄捕之。”布从齐还，奏事彭越头下，祠而哭之。吏捕布以闻。上召布，骂曰：“若与彭越反邪？吾禁人勿收，若独祠而哭之，与越反明矣。趣亨之。”方提趣汤，布顾曰：“愿一言而死。”上曰：“何言？”布曰：“方上之困于彭城，败荥阳、成皋间，项王所以不能遂西，徒以彭王居梁地，与汉合从苦楚也。当是之时，彭王一顾，与楚则汉破，与汉则楚破。且垓下之会，微彭王，项氏不亡。天下已定，彭王剖符受封，亦欲传之万世。今陛下一征兵于梁，彭王病不行，而陛下疑以为反，反形未见，以苛小案诛灭之，臣恐功臣人人自危

### 【今译】

越的头颅割下悬挂在洛阳城楼下，颁布诏令说：“有敢收殓或看望彭越的头颅的，就把他抓起来。”栾布从齐国回来，到彭越的头颅下面汇报，祭奠哭吊他。官吏抓住栾布向皇上报告。皇上召见栾布，骂道：“你参加彭越的造反了吗？我禁止人不得收殓或看望他，你偏偏跑去祭奠哭吊，分明是参与了彭越的造反。赶快烹杀他！”正当把栾布提着奔向开水锅的时候，栾布回过头来说：“我还要说一句话再去死。”皇上说：“还要说什么？”栾布说：“当年皇上被围困在彭城，在荥阳、成皋一带战败的时候，项王之所以不能最终向西追击，只是由于彭王在梁地，与汉军联合牵制楚军的缘故。那个时候，彭王一回头，帮楚则汉败，帮汉则楚败。况且垓下会战，不是彭王参战，项氏也不会灭亡。天下平定以后，彭王接过玺印接受分封，也希望能够万代相传。现在陛下一声令下到梁国征调军队，彭王因重病不能随行，而陛下就怀疑是要造反，造反的证据也没看到，就以琐细的事情为罪名把他杀了，我担心功臣会人人自危了。现在彭王已经死了，我活着还不



of Luoyang with the warning: "The watch shall arrest any man who dares remove this head!"

When Luan Bu came back from Qi, he reported on his mission to Peng Yue's head, sacrificed to it and mourned. The officers arrested him and reported the matter to the emperor, who sent for Luan Bu and swore at him, "Were you involved in Peng Yue's revolt? I gave orders that his head was not to be taken down, yet you sacrificed to it and mourned him. It is obvious that you plotted treason with him. Throw this fellow into the cauldron!"

As Luan Bu was being dragged to the cauldron, he looked over his shoulder and called, "I beg to say one word before I die!"

"What is it?" demanded the emperor.

"When Your Majesty was hard pressed at Pengcheng and lost a battle between Xingyang and Chenggao, Xiang Yu could not advance further west because Peng Yue was harassing him for you in Liang. All depended on Peng Yue then. Had he gone over to Chu, Han would have been beaten. By aiding Han, he brought about Chu's defeat. If not for his help at Gaixia, you could not have destroyed Xiang Yu.

"After the empire was secure, Peng Yue received a tally and a fief, and expected to hand them down to his heirs for countless generations. Then you summoned his army from Liang and, just because he was too ill to come, suspected that he had rebelled. With no real evidence, you executed him on a flimsy pretext. All your other worthy subjects must fear for their lives. Now that he has been killed, I would rather

### 【原文】

也。今彭王已死，臣生不如死，请就烹。”于是上乃释布罪，拜为都尉。

孝文时，为燕相，至将军。布乃称曰：“穷困不能辱身下志，非人也；富贵不能快意，非贤也。”于是尝有德者厚报之，有怨者必以法灭之。吴楚反时，以军功封俞侯，复为燕相。燕齐之间皆为栾布立社，号曰栾公社。景帝中五年薨。子贲嗣，为太常，牺牲不如令，国除。

太史公曰：以项羽之气，而季布以勇显于楚，身屡军搴旗者数矣，可谓壮士。然至被刑戮，为人奴而不死，何其下也！彼必自负

### 【今译】

如死了，请把我扔进开水锅吧。”于是皇上便赦免了栾布的罪，拜任他为都尉。

孝文帝的时候，栾布任燕相，官至将军。栾布声称：“贫穷困顿的时候不能忍辱求全，就不是一个真正的人；富贵以后不能实现自己的意愿，就不是一个贤能的人。”于是对那些曾于他有恩的人都厚厚地报答人家，对那些有仇的人都一定藉法律杀掉。吴、楚七国反叛时，栾布以战功受封为俞侯，又作了燕国的国相。在燕、齐一带许多地方都为栾布建造祠堂，称之为“栾公社”。孝景帝中元五年（公元前145年），栾布去世。他的儿子栾贲继承侯位，担任太常，后来因为祭祀时所用的祭品牲畜不合规定，封国被撤销。

太史公说：以项羽那样的气概，而季布却能够凭勇敢闻名于楚国，多次亲身踏灭敌军夺得军旗，真可以称得上是壮士。但到

die than live. Lead me to the cauldron!"

The emperor pardoned him and made him a commander.

During the reign of Emperor Wen, Luan Bu served as prime minister of Yan and then as a general. He said, "One who cannot humble himself and curb his ambitions in poverty is no true man. One who cannot enjoy wealth and rank does not amount to much either." He heaped rich rewards on all who had done him a service, but invoked the law to kill those who offended him.

During the revolt of the prince of Wu he distinguished himself in battle and was enfeoffed as marquis of Yu, after which he served as Yan's prime minister again. The people of Yan and Qi instituted temple sacrifices for him, calling him Lord Luan. He died in the fifth year of the middle era of Emperor Jing.<sup>1</sup> His son Fen who succeeded to his title was a master of ceremony, but he was deprived of his fief for sacrificing in a way contrary to government orders.

The Grand Historian comments: Thanks to Xiang Yu, Ji Bu became known for his courage in Chu. On several occasions at the head of his troops he captured the enemy flag. He was a brave warrior. Yet



### 【原文】

其材，故受辱而不羞，欲有所用其未足也，故终为汉名将。贤者诚重其死。夫婢妾贱人感慨而自杀者，非能勇也，其计画无复之耳。栾布哭彭越，趣汤如归者，彼诚知所处，不自重其死。虽往古烈士，何以加哉！

### 【今译】

被施以刑罚，做了人家的奴隶却仍然不肯一死，又是何等的卑下啊！他一定是自负自己有才干，因此虽然受到侮辱却并不感到羞耻，是希望找到地方施展自己尚未施展的抱负啊，所以他终于成为汉朝的名将。贤能的人的确很看重自己的生命。那些婢女、小妾、微贱的人因怨愤而自杀的，并不是勇敢，是他们没有什么计划要实践罢了。栾布哭吊彭越，走向开水锅就如同是回家，那是他的确知道自己的处境，已经不再畏惧一死了。即使是古代的有志有节之人，又怎么能超过他呢！

when humiliated and sold as a slave he suffered meekly and did not kill himself. He must have had such confidence in his own ability that he endured disgrace without shame, determined to fulfil his ambitions later. So finally he became a great general of Han. A great man will not die in vain. When slave girls and concubines kill themselves in a passion, this is not because they are brave but because they have no way out.

Luan Bu mourned for Peng Yue and courted death in the cauldron because he knew where he stood, and therefore did not set great store on his life. Even the heroes of old could have done no more.

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<sup>1</sup> 145 B.C.





## 张释之冯唐列传

### 【原文】

张廷尉释之者，堵阳人也，字季。有兄仲同居。以訾为骑郎，事孝文帝，十岁不得调，无所知名。释之曰：“久宦减仲之产，不遂。”欲自免归。中郎将袁盎知其贤，惜其去，乃请徙释之补谒者。释之既朝毕，因前言便宜事。文帝曰：“卑之，毋甚高论，令今可施行也。”于是释之言秦、汉之间事，秦所以失而汉所以兴者，久之。文帝称善，乃拜释之为谒者仆射。

释之从行，登虎圈。上问上林尉诸禽兽簿，十余问，尉左右视，尽不能对。虎圈啬夫从旁代尉对上所问禽兽簿，甚悉。欲以

### 【今译】

廷尉张释之是堵阳人，字季。有个哥哥张仲和他住在一起。他因为家财殷实得以入选为骑郎，事奉孝文帝，十年没有得到升迁，名声也不为人所知。张释之说：“长久做郎官耗减哥哥的家产，心中不安。”想自己要求免职回家。中郎将袁盎知道他贤能，舍不得他离开，于是奏请迁调张释之补谒者的缺职。张释之朝见完毕之后，趁机上前陈述便国宜民的事。文帝说：“现实一些，不要太高谈阔论，要使得当今可以施行。”于是张释之谈论起秦、汉之间的事情，讲起秦朝灭亡和汉朝兴起的原因，讲了很久。文帝称好，就任命张释之为谒者仆射。

张释之跟从皇帝出行，登览虎圈。皇上问上林尉各种禽兽的簿册登记情况，提了十几个问题，上林尉左看右看，都答不上来。看管虎圈的啬夫从旁边代替上林尉回答皇上所问的禽兽簿



## Zhang Shizhi and Feng Tang

The chief justice Zhang Shizhi, whose courtesy name was Zhang Ji, was a man of Duyang and lived with his elder brother Zhang Zhong. He bought the post of a cavalry guard under Emperor Wen, but served for ten years without winning promotion, remaining unknown.

"I have served all this time and been a considerable expense to my brother, without getting anywhere," he said and offered to resign and go home.

But Yuan Ang, the captain of the palace guards, knew his ability and thought it would be a pity if he left. He therefore had him transferred to the post of an imperial herald.

After his presentation at court, Zhang Shizhi stepped forward to propose reforms.

"Let's have no high-flown schemes," said Emperor Wen, "but modest proposals which can be put into practice."

Then Zhang Shizhi spoke at some length of the Qin and Han Dynasties, the reason for Qin's downfall and Han's rise to power. The emperor, approving his views, made him the chief herald.

Once he went with Emperor Wen to see the Tiger Enclosure in Shanglin Park. The emperor asked the warden more than ten questions about the animals and birds listed in the park records, but the warden looked this way and that and could not reply. Then the tiger-keeper, standing near by, answered for him, going into great detail to display his knowledge, reeling off the answers and hardly stopping for breath.



### 【原文】

观其能口对响应无穷者。文帝曰：“吏不当如是邪？尉无赖！”乃诏释之拜啬夫为上林令。释之久之前曰：“陛下以绛侯周勃何如人也？”上曰：“长者也。”又复问：“东阳侯张相如何如人也？”上复曰：“长者。”释之曰：“夫绛侯、东阳侯称为长者，此两人言事，曾不能出口，岂教此啬夫谍谋利口捷给哉！且秦以任刀笔之吏，吏争以亟疾苛察相高，然其敝徒文具耳，无恻隐之实。以故不闻其过，陵迟而至于二世，天下土崩。今陛下以啬夫口辩而超迁之，臣恐天下随风靡靡，争为口辩而无其实。且下之化上疾于景响，举措不可不慎也。”文帝曰：“善。”乃止不拜啬夫。

### 【今译】

册，答得很详细，想要以此来显示他回答应对无穷无尽的才能。文帝说：“官吏不应当像这样吗？上林尉无能！”于是下诏命张释之任命啬夫为上林令。张释之许久才上前说：“陛下认为绛侯周勃是什么样的人呢？”皇上说：“是忠厚长者。”张释之又问：“东阳侯张相如是什么样的人呢？”皇上又说：“他是忠厚长者。”张释之说：“绛侯、东阳侯被称做忠厚长者，这两个人谈论事情时竟然话都说不利落，难道也要学这个啬夫滔滔不绝、伶牙俐齿那样吗！况且秦朝因为任用那些刀笔吏，他们争着拿办事急快和督察苛刻来互比高低，然而那样做的弊病只是官样文章罢了，没有一点仁慈的实情。因为这个原因上边根本听不到过失，日益衰败，传到了二世，天下便土崩瓦解了。如今陛下因为啬夫能言善辩就越级提升他，我担心天下的人会随风而倒，争着学能言善辩而不讲求实实在在的东西，况且下面仿效上面比影子和回声还要来得快，举措不可以不慎重。”文帝说：“好。”于是放弃了升迁啬夫的打算。



"That's how the warden should be," said Emperor Wen. "The other fellow is no good." He told Zhang Shizhi to have the keeper made warden of the park.

After a little reflection, Zhang Shizhi stepped forward and asked, "What is your opinion, sir, of Zhou Bo the marquis of Jiang?"

"An excellent man."

"What of Zhang Xiangru the marquis of Dongyang?"

"Another excellent man."

"You call both of them excellent men, yet when it comes to making reports they can hardly get a word out. They are not as glib and fluent as this keeper. The emperor of Qin employed scribes who tried to outdo each other in harshness and severity. Their fault was that they enforced the letter of the law, untempered by mercy. And as the emperor never realized his mistakes, things went from bad to worse until, in the reign of the Second Emperor, the empire fell to pieces. If you promote this keeper for his eloquence, sir, I fear others will follow his example and aim at eloquence instead of solid worth. Those below respond to the influence of those above as swiftly as shadows or echoes. Appointments and dismissals should be carefully considered."

The emperor approved and did not promote the keeper.



## 【原文】

上就车，召释之参乘，徐行问释之秦之敝。具以质言。至宫，上拜释之为公车令。

顷之，太子与梁王共车入朝，不下司马门，于是释之追止太子、梁王，无得入殿门。遂劾不下公门不敬，奏之。薄太后闻之，文帝免冠谢曰：“教儿子不谨。”薄太后乃使使承诏赦太子、梁王，然后得入。文帝由是奇释之，拜为中大夫。

顷之，至中郎将。从行至霸陵，居北临厕。是时慎夫人从，上指示慎夫人新丰道，曰：“此走邯郸道也。”使慎夫人鼓瑟，上自倚瑟而歌，意惨凄悲怀，顾谓群臣曰：“嗟乎！以北山石为椁，用綈

## 【今译】

皇上上了车，令张释之陪乘，缓缓地前行，皇上问张释之有关秦朝的弊病。张释之都据实作了回答。到了宫中，皇上任命张释之做了公车令。

不久，太子和梁王同乘一辆车入朝，经过司马门时没有下车，这时张释之追上去制止太子、梁王不得进入殿门。于是又弹劾他们在司马门不下车为不敬之罪，上奏给朝廷。薄太后知道了这件事，文帝摘下冠冕向薄太后谢罪说：“我教导儿子不严。”薄太后这才派使者传令赦免太子、梁王，这样他们才得以入宫。文帝因为这件事而认为张释之有奇特之处，拜他为中大夫。

不久，张释之升任中郎将。他随从皇上到霸陵，皇上在陵墓上面的北边远望。这时慎夫人跟随着，皇上指着去新丰的路给慎夫人看，说道：“这就是向邯郸去的路。”皇上让慎夫人鼓瑟，自己和着瑟的曲调唱歌，情意凄惨悲伤，回过头对群臣说：“唉！拿北山上的石头做外椁，把綈麻、绵絮剥细，用漆粘合着塞在石椁



Mounting his carriage, he asked Zhang Shizhi to take the reins, and as they drove slowly back questioned him about the mistakes of the Qin government. And he received practical, realistic answers. Upon their return to the palace, the emperor made him keeper of the palace gate.

Some time later the crown prince and prince of Liang drove together to the palace, but did not stop at the outer gate. Zhang Shizhi ran after them, stopped them, and would not let them enter the inner gate. He reported them to the throne for their disrespect in failing to alight at the palace gate, and the matter was referred to Empress Dowager Bo. Emperor Wen uncovered his head to apologize to her, saying, "I have not brought my sons up well," after which she sent a messenger to order that the princes be pardoned, and then at last they were admitted. Much impressed by this, Emperor Wen appointed Zhang Shizhi a court adviser. And later on he became captain of the palace guards.

Zhang Shizhi once accompanied Emperor Wen to the imperial tomb at Baling. Looking down from the north side of the hill, the emperor turned to Lady Shen, who was also in attendance, and pointed out the Xinfeng highway. "That's the road to Handan," he told her. He asked her to play the cithern and sang to her accompaniment. Then gazing sadly at his courtiers he said, "Ah, if we used stone from the north hill for the outer coffin, filled the cracks with hemp and silk floss

### 【原文】

絮斫陈，藜漆其间，岂可动哉！”左右皆曰：“善。”释之前进曰：“使其中有可欲者，虽锢南山犹有隙；使其中无可欲者，虽无石椁，又何戚焉！”文帝称善。其后拜释之为廷尉。

顷之，上行出中渭桥，有一人从桥下走出，乘舆马惊。于是使骑捕，属之廷尉。释之治问。曰：“县人来，闻跸，匿桥下。久之，以为行已过，即出，见乘舆车骑，即走耳。”廷尉奏当，一人犯跸，当罚金。文帝怒曰：“此人亲惊吾马，吾马赖柔和，令他马，固不败伤我乎？而廷尉乃当之罚金！”释之曰：“法者天子所与天下公共也。今法如此，而更重之，是法不信于民也。且方其时，

### 【今译】

的缝隙间，难道还能打得开吗！”左右的人都说：“是的。”张释之走上前说：“假使这里面有能够引起贪欲的东西，即使是封闭住南山，也还是有空隙；假使这里面没有能够引起贪欲的东西，即使没有石椁，又有什么可以忧虑的呢！”文帝称赞说好。这以后就提升张释之做了廷尉。

不久，皇上出行经过中渭桥，有一个人从桥下面跑出来，皇上乘坐的车马受了惊。于是派骑士把那个人捕获，把他交付给廷尉。张释之审问那人。那人说：“我是县里的乡民来到这里，听到清道戒严的号令，藏到桥下面。过了许久，以为皇上的车马已经过去了，就从桥下出来，看见皇上乘坐的车马，立刻跑起来了。”廷尉上奏依法量刑应给予的处罚，一个人违反了清道戒严的号令，按刑法处以罚金。文帝大怒道：“这个人本身惊吓了我的马，幸亏我的马性情温和，假若是别的马，不是一定会伤害了我吗？可是廷尉却只判处他罚金！”张释之说：“法律是天子和天下人共同遵守的东西。现在法律是这样规定的，却要加重处罚，这样



and covered the whole with lacquer, no thief could break in."

All agreed but Zhang Shizhi, who stepped forward and said, "If there is something men covet inside the coffin, even if it is sealed up under the south hill thieves will find a way in. If there is nothing men covet, even without a stone coffin there is no need to worry." The emperor approved, and later made him chief justice.

Some time after this, Emperor Wen was crossing the Middle Wei Bridge when a man ran out from under the bridge, frightening the horses of the imperial carriage. Cavalrymen were sent to seize this man and take him to the chief justice. Zhang Shizhi tried the fellow, who said he came from the country; when he heard the order 'Clear the way for the emperor!' he hid himself for a long time under the bridge, coming out when he thought the retinue had passed; then, at sight of the imperial carriage and riders, he ran. The chief justice recommended that he be fined for violating the order to clear the way.

"That fellow frightened my horses!" protested Emperor Wen indignantly. "It's a good thing that team is so docile. Had they been any other horses, I should have been hurt. Yet the chief justice simply fines him."

"The law should be observed by the Son of Heaven and the people alike," replied Zhang. "This is the law and, were I to impose a heavier punishment, the people would lose faith in the law. If Your Majesty

### 【原文】

上使立诛之则已。今既下廷尉，廷尉，天下之平也。一倾，而天下用法皆为轻重，民安所措其手足？唯陛下察之。”良久，上曰：“廷尉当是也。”

其后有人盗高庙坐前玉环，捕得，文帝怒，下廷尉治。释之案律盗宗庙服御物者为奏，奏当弃市。上大怒，曰：“人之无道，乃盗先帝庙器，吾属廷尉者，欲致之族，而君以法奏之，非吾所以共承宗庙意也。”释之免冠顿首谢曰：“法如是足也。且罪等，然以逆顺为差。今盗宗庙器而族之，有如万分之一，假令愚民取长陵一杯土，陛下何以加其法乎？”久之，文帝与太后言之，乃许。

### 【今译】

法律就不能取信于民了。况且在当时，皇上派人就地杀掉他也就罢了。现在既然交付给廷尉，廷尉是全国判刑公平的象征。一旦偏斜，天下使用法律时都会因此而减轻或加重，民众岂不要手足无措了吗？希望陛下明察这件事。”很久，皇上说：“廷尉量刑是对的。”

那以后，有个人偷了高祖庙神座前面的玉环，被抓住了，文帝大怒，交付给廷尉治罪。张释之按照法律中偷盗宗庙服饰器物的规定上奏，奏明应判处斩首示众。皇上非常恼怒说：“那个人无道胡为，竟敢偷盗先帝宗庙的器物，我之所以交付廷尉审理，是要灭掉他的全族，可是你却依法上奏这件案子，这不是我用来恭敬奉承宗庙的用意。”张释之摘掉帽子叩头赔罪说：“按照法律这样判处就足够了。况且斩首示众和灭族同样是死罪，但是以罪责的逆顺轻重程度而论，是有差别的。如今偷盗宗庙器物就诛灭他的全族，如果万一，假设愚民盗掘了长陵，陛下又该怎样加重对他的刑罚呢？”过了很久，文帝和太后谈论这件事，才准许了廷尉



had ordered the man to be executed on the spot, no one would have objected. But the matter was referred to the chief justice who should administer justice impartially to all. If I show bias all officers will apply the law with a bias, and the people will not know what to do. I beg Your Majesty to consider this."

The emperor thought it over and said, "The sentence proposed by the chief justice is right."

Later a jade ring was stolen from the shrine of Emperor Gaozu's temple. The thief was caught and the emperor in a passion sent him to the chief justice for trial. Zhang Shizhi ruled that, since this was a case of stealing from an ancestral temple, the culprit should be publicly executed.

The emperor protested in a rage, "This fellow had the effrontery to rob Emperor Gaozu's temple! I sent him to you expecting to have him and his relatives executed, but you simply passed sentence according to the law. This is not my idea of respect to ancestral temples."

Zhang Shizhi bared his head and bowed to apologize, saying, "That is all the law demands. Besides, there are different degrees in the same crime. If you wiped out this man's relatives because he robbed the temple, how would you punish some fool — if we can imagine such a case — who dug up Emperor Gaozu's tomb?"

Emperor Wen discussed this later with the empress dowager and

## 【原文】

廷尉当。是时，中尉条侯周亚夫与梁相山都侯王恬开见释之持议平，乃结为亲友。张廷尉由此天下称之。

后文帝崩，景帝立，释之恐，称病。欲免去，惧大诛至；欲见谢，则未知何如。用王生计，卒见谢，景帝不过也。

王生者，善为黄、老言，处士也。尝召居廷中，三公九卿尽会立，王生老人，曰“吾袜解”，顾谓张廷尉：“为我结袜！”释之跪而结之。既已，人或谓王生曰：“独奈何廷辱张廷尉。使跪结袜？”王生曰：“吾老且贱，自度终无益于张廷尉，张廷尉方今天下名臣，吾故聊辱廷尉使跪结袜，欲以重之。”诸公闻之，贤王生而重张廷尉。

## 【今译】

的判罚。当时，中尉条侯周亚夫和梁相山都侯王恬开看到张释之执法判决公正，就和他结为亲密朋友。张廷尉因此得到天下人的称颂。

后来文帝去世，景帝即位，张释之很恐惧，声称有病。他想要辞职离开，害怕会有杀身大祸降临；想要见景帝当面谢罪，却又不知道怎样才好。他采用王生的计策，终于得以当面谢罪，景帝没有责怪他。

王生擅长黄老学说，是个处士。曾经被召进朝廷中，三公九卿都相聚而立，王生是老年人，说“我的袜子松了”，回头对张廷尉说：“替我系好袜子！”张释之跪下替他系好袜子。过后，有人对王生说：“为什么单单在朝廷上侮辱张廷尉，让他跪下替你系袜子？”王生回答说：“我年老而且地位卑贱，自己揣度终究不会对张廷尉有什么益处。张廷尉是当今天下的名臣，我故意要姑且侮辱廷尉，让他跪下替我系袜子，是想要加重他的名望。”各位公卿听说这件事，都称颂王生的贤能，敬重张廷尉。



they agreed that Zhang Shizhi was right. At that time the metropolitan tribune Zhou Yafu, marquis of Tiao, and Wang Tiankai, marquis of Shandu and prime minister of Liang, were so struck by Zhang Shizhi's fair administration of justice that they allied themselves with him by marriage. Then the fame of Chief Justice Zhang spread through all the land.

When Emperor Wen died and Emperor Jing came to the throne,<sup>1</sup> Zhang Shizhi was afraid and pretended to be unwell. He wanted to resign but feared that might result in his execution. He wished to apologize, but did not know how the emperor would take it. Finally on the advice of Wang Sheng he apologized to Emperor Jing, who did not punish him.

Wang Sheng lived in retirement and was well versed in the teachings of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi. Once he was summoned to court and allowed to sit down while all the chief ministers were standing around.

The old man exclaimed, "My leggings are coming down!" And turning to Zhang Shizhi he said, "Tie them up for me, will you?"

Zhang Shizhi knelt down and did as he was told.

Later Wang Sheng was asked, "Why did you insult the chief justice in public by making him kneel down and tie up your leggings?"

"I am an old man in a humble position," replied Wang Sheng. "What can I do to help the chief justice who is known throughout the land? I put him to the indignity of kneeling to tie up my leggings so that men might respect him even more."

Word of this increased men's regard for Wang Sheng as well as their respect for Zhang Shizhi.

## 【原文】

张廷尉事景帝岁余，为淮南王相，犹尚以前过也。久之，释之卒。其子曰张挚，字长公，官至大夫，免。以不能取容当世，故终身不仕。

冯唐者，其大父赵人。父徙代。汉兴徙安陵。唐以孝著，为中郎署长，事文帝。文帝辇过，问唐曰：“父老何自为郎？家安在？”唐具以实对。文帝曰：“吾居代时，吾尚食监高祛数为我言赵将李齐之贤，战于钜鹿下。今吾每饭，意未尝不在钜鹿也。父知之乎？”唐对曰：“尚不如廉颇、李牧之为将也。”上曰：“何以？”唐曰：“臣大父在赵时，为官卒将，善李牧。臣父故为代

## 【今译】

张廷尉事奉景帝一年多，改作淮南王相，还是因为从前得罪过景帝的缘故。很久以后，张释之去世。他的儿子叫张挚，字长公，做官做到大夫，被免职。因为他不善于取悦当朝的权贵，所以终身没有再做官。

冯唐，他的祖父是赵国人。父亲迁居到代地。汉朝建立后迁徙到安陵。冯唐以孝行著称，做了中郎署长，事奉文帝。文帝乘车经过郎署时，问冯唐：“老人家为什么还做着郎官？家在哪里？”冯唐都如实回答了。文帝说：“我在代地的时候，我的尚食监高祛多次对我谈论赵将李齐的贤能，他曾经战斗在巨鹿城下。如今我每当吃饭的时候，心思都未尝不是在巨鹿。老人家知道这个人的事迹吗？”冯唐回答说：“他还不如廉颇、李牧做将官高明。”皇上问：“为什么？”冯唐说：“我祖父在赵国的时候，当官领将，和李牧友善。我父亲从前做代相，和赵将李齐友善，知道他的为



Zhang Shizhi served as chief justice under Emperor Jing for more than a year, after which he was transferred to be chief minister to the prince of Huainan. Evidently this was because of his former fault. He died some time afterwards. His son Zhang Zhi, whose courtesy name was Changgong, served as a high official but was dismissed. Because he could not follow the fashion, he never again held an official post.

Feng Tang's grandfather came from Zhao. His father moved first to Dai and then, at the beginning of the Han Dynasty, to Anling. Because of his reputation for filial piety Feng Tang served as a lieutenant to the chief of the palace guard under Emperor Wen.

Once the emperor, passing in his sedan-chair, asked, "How did you become a palace guard? Where are you from?" When Feng Tang had explained his background the emperor said, "When I was in Dai, the imperial steward Gao Qu often told me what a fine general Li Qi of Zhao was, and how he fought that battle at Julu. Now I hardly ever sit down to a meal without thinking of the Battle of Julu. Did you know Li Qi?"

"He was not such a great general as Lian Po and Li Mu," said Feng Tang.

"Why do you say that?"

"When my grandfather served in Zhao as a centurion, he knew Li Mu well. And my father as chief minister of Dai was friendly with General Li Qi. So I know what sort of men they were."

### 【原文】

相，善赵将李齐，知其为人也。”上既闻廉颇、李牧为人，良说，而搏髀曰：“嗟乎！吾独不得廉颇、李牧时为吾将，吾岂忧匈奴哉！”唐曰：“主臣！陛下虽得廉颇、李牧，弗能用也。”上怒，起入禁中。良久，召唐让曰：“公奈何众辱我，独无闲处乎？”唐谢曰：“鄙人不知忌讳。”

当是之时，匈奴新大入朝那，杀北地都尉卬。上以胡寇为意，乃卒复问唐曰：“公何以知吾不能用廉颇、李牧也？”唐对曰：“臣闻上古王者之遣将也，跪而推轂，曰阃以内者，寡人制之；阃以外者，将军制之。军功爵赏，皆决于外，归而奏之。此非虚言也。臣大父言，李牧为赵将居边，军市之租皆自用飨士，赏赐决于外，

### 【今译】

人。”皇上听说了廉颇、李牧的为人，非常高兴，拍打着大腿说：“唉！我偏偏不能得到廉颇、李牧做我的将官，有了他们我难道会担忧匈奴吗！”冯唐说：“主上！陛下就是得到廉颇、李牧，也不会起用的。”皇上大怒，起身进皇宫了。过了很久，召见冯唐责怪说：“你为什么当众侮辱我，难道就不能在避开人的地方说吗？”冯唐谢罪说：“我这粗鄙的人不知道忌讳。”

当时，匈奴新近大举入侵朝那，杀死北地都尉孙卬。皇上忧虑胡人进犯这件事，就终于又去问冯唐：“你怎么知道我不能任用廉颇、李牧呢？”冯唐回答说：“我听说上古的时候，君王派遣将官，要跪下推着车子，说朝中的事情，我来决定；外面的事情，将军来决定。军功和爵位赏赐都由外面的将军决定，回来时再上奏朝廷。这不是虚妄的话。我祖父说，李牧做赵国的将官守卫边塞，军中市场上征来的租税都自己用来赏赐士卒，赏赐由外面的



Delighted to hear about Lian Po and Li Mu, the emperor slapped his thigh and exclaimed, "Ah, if I had generals like them, I need not worry about the Huns!"

"Excuse my presumption, sir," said Feng Tang. "But even if you had Lian Po or Li Mu, you would not be able to use them."

The emperor sprang up angrily and went back to the inner palace. After some time he summoned Feng Tang and reproached him. "Why did you insult me in public?" he asked. "Couldn't you have waited till we were alone?"

"I am a fool," apologized Feng Tang. "I should have held my tongue."

Now the Huns had just invaded Chaona in force, killing Sun Ang the army commander of Beidi, and the emperor was worried about their incursions. So he finally asked Feng Tang, "How do you know that I couldn't make good use of men like Lian Po or Li Mu?"

Feng Tang answered, "I have heard that when a king of ancient times saw a general off to war, he would kneel to push the chariot wheels and say, 'I shall see to things at home, general, while you see to things outside.' All military distinctions and awards were decided by the general, who simply reported them after his return from the campaign. I am not making this up."

"My grandfather told me that when Li Mu served as a general at Zhao's frontier he spent all the revenue from the camp markets on his

### 【原文】

不从中扰也。委任而责成功，故李牧乃得尽其智能，遣选车千三百乘，彀骑万三千，百金之士十万，是以北逐单于，破东胡，灭澹林，西抑强秦，南支韩、魏。当是之时，赵几霸。其后会赵王迁立，其母倡也。王迁立，乃用郭开谗，卒诛李牧，令颜聚代之。是以兵破士北，为秦所禽灭。今臣窃闻魏尚为云中守，其军市租尽以飨士卒，出私养钱，五日一椎牛，飨宾客军吏舍人，是以匈奴远避，不近云中之塞。虏曾一人，尚率车骑击之，所杀甚众。夫士卒尽家人子，起田中从军，安知尺籍伍符。终日力战，斩首捕虏，上功莫府，一言不相应，文吏以法绳之。其赏不行而

### 【今译】

将军决定，君王不从中干扰。委托给他重任而要求他成功，因此李牧才能充分发挥他的智慧和才能，派遣选拔出来的战车一千三百辆，善射的骑兵一万三千人，能建战功的精锐士卒十万人，因此向北驱逐了单于，击破了东胡，消灭了澹林，在西面抑制了强大的秦国，在南面抗拒韩、魏。当时，赵国几乎称霸天下。这以后赶上赵王迁即位，他的母亲原是艺妓。赵王迁即位，就因为听了郭开的谗言，终于杀掉了李牧，让颜聚代替他。因此军队战败，被秦国消灭掉了。如今我私下里听说魏尚担任云中太守，他把军中市场上征来的租税全部拿来赏赐士兵，还拿出自己的俸钱，每五天椎杀一头牛，款待宾客、军吏和属官，因此匈奴远远地避开，不敢靠近云中要塞。匈奴曾经有一次入侵，魏尚率领兵马抗击，杀死非常多的敌人。那些士卒全都是民家子弟，从乡村出来参军，怎会知道‘尺籍’、‘伍符’之类的军中法令。整天努力战斗，斩杀敌人首级，抓捕敌军俘虏，向将官报功时，仅仅一句话没有互相符合，司法官就用法令来制裁他们。他们应得的



men, and decided awards with no interference from the court. This meant that he could bring all his wisdom and ability into full play. With a picked force of thirteen hundred chariots, thirteen thousand mounted archers and a hundred thousand of the best fighters, he was able to drive away the Hunnish khan in the north, rout the Donghu, destroy the Danlin, halt the advance of powerful Qin in the west and support Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) and Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) in the south, so that Zhao very nearly became the leader of the states.

“But later King Qian, son of a dancing girl, came to the throne. He listened to the slanders of Guo Kai and had Li Mu killed, appointing Yan Ju in his place. As a result his army was defeated, his men fled and he was captured by Qin.”

“I hear that when Wei Shang was governor of Yunzhong, he used all the revenue from his camp markets to feast his troops and drew on his own purse to kill an ox every five days for his protégés, officers and stewards. And the Huns kept their distance, not daring to approach the ramparts at Yunzhong. Once they crossed the frontier, Wei Shang attacked with his chariots and cavalry and inflicted heavy casualties on them.”

“Soldiers are simple peasants who join the army straight from the fields, knowing nothing of official documents and forms. At the end of a hard day of fighting they report to headquarters the number of enemies they have killed or captured, and if there is any inconsistency in their reports the civil officers punish them according to the law. Rewards are not given but the law is always enforced.”



### 【原文】

吏奉法必用。臣愚，以为陛下法太明，赏太轻，罚太重。且云中守魏尚坐上功首虏差六级，陛下下之吏，削其爵，罚作之。由此言之，陛下虽得廉颇、李牧，弗能用也。臣诚愚，触忌讳，死罪死罪！”文帝说。是日令冯唐持节赦魏尚，复以为云中守，而拜唐为车骑都尉，主中尉及郡国车士。

七年，景帝立，以唐为楚相，免。武帝立，求贤良，举冯唐。唐时年九十余，不能复为官，乃以唐子冯遂为郎。遂字王孙，亦奇士，与余善。

太史公曰：张季之言长者，守法不阿意；冯公之论将率，有

### 【今译】

赏赐没有给予，可是司法官奉行的法令却一定要执行。我很愚蠢，认为陛下的法令太严明，赏赐太轻，惩罚太重。况且云中太守魏尚就因为上报斩杀的敌人差了六个首级，陛下把他交付给司法官治罪，削夺了他的爵位，判处了一年徒刑。从这件事说来，陛下即使是得到了廉颇、李牧，也不会使用的。我确实愚蠢，触犯了忌讳，死罪死罪！”文帝听了很高兴。当天下令让冯唐持节赦免魏尚，重新让他担任云中太守，并且拜冯唐为车骑都尉，掌管中尉和各郡国的车战士兵。

后元七年（公元前157年），景帝即位，任命冯唐为楚国丞相，后来免了职。武帝即位，访求贤良，举荐冯唐。冯唐当时年龄已经九十多岁了，不能再担任官职了，就让冯唐的儿子冯遂当了郎官。冯遂字王孙，也是个有奇才的人，和我很友善。

太史公曰：张季谈论忠厚长者，遵守法度不迎合上面的意图；冯公谈论将官率军作战，有味道啊！有味道啊！俗话说：“不了



“In my humble opinion, sir, your laws are too strict, your rewards too small and your penalties too heavy. Because Wei Shang, the governor of Yunzhong, was accused of reporting six more enemy heads than there were, you had him tried, degraded and punished with penal servitude. Judging by this, even if you had Lian Po and Li Mu you would not be able to use them. I am a simpleton, unable to hold my tongue. I deserve death for my presumption.”

Emperor Wen was pleased and that same day he sent Feng Tang with the imperial credentials to pardon Wei Shang and reinstate him as governor of Yunzhong. Feng Tang was made a tribune of chariots and cavalry in charge of the chariots and horsemen of the capital and the principalities.

Seven years later Emperor Jing came to the throne and appointed Feng Tang chief minister of Chu, but later dismissed him. After Emperor Wu ascended the throne,<sup>2</sup> he made a search for able and worthy men and Feng Tang was recommended. He was then over ninety, however, and could not serve as an official, so his son Feng Sui was made a palace guard. Feng Sui's courtesy name was Wangsun. He, too, was a remarkable man and a good friend of mine.

The Grand Historian comments: Zhang Shizhi knew what constitutes a superior man and he upheld the law regardless of the emperor's

### 【原文】

味哉！有味哉！语曰：“不知其人视其友。”二君之所称诵，可著廊庙。《书》曰：“不偏不党，王道荡荡；不党不偏，王道便便。”张季、冯公近之矣。

### 【今译】

解那个人，就看看他的朋友。”二位先生所称颂的人，可以标著在朝廷上。《书经》上说：“不偏私不结党，王道就会坦荡；不结党不偏私，王道就会平坦通畅。”张季、冯公接近于不偏私、不结党的标准了。



wishes, while Feng Tang's comments on what makes a good general are well worth pondering too. The proverb says, "You can know a man by his friends." The sayings of these two men deserve to be preserved in the court archives. The *Book of Documents* says, "No prejudice, no bias, how broad is the Kingly Way! No bias, no prejudice, how smooth is the Kingly Way!" Both Zhang Shizhi and Feng Tang came close to this.

<sup>1</sup> 157 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> 140 B.C.

## 吴王濞列传

### 【原文】

吴王濞者，高帝兄刘仲之子也。高帝已定天下七年，立刘仲为代王。而匈奴攻代，刘仲不能坚守，弃国亡，间行走洛阳，自归天子。天子为骨肉故，不忍致法，废以为郎阳侯。高帝十一年秋，淮南王英布反，东并荆地，劫其国兵，西度淮，击楚，高帝自将往诛之。刘仲子沛侯濞年二十，有气力，以骑将从破布军蕲西会甄，布走。荆王刘贾为布所杀，无后。上患吴、会稽轻悍，无壮王以填之，诸子少，乃立濞于沛为吴王，王三郡五十三城。

### 【今译】

吴王刘濞，是高帝的哥哥刘仲的儿子。高帝平定天下已经七年了，封立刘仲做了代王。而匈奴攻打代，刘仲没有能够坚守，丢弃了封国逃跑了，偷偷从小路跑到了洛阳，向天子自首。天子因为骨肉至亲的缘故，不忍心给他以法律制裁，废掉他的王位，降为了郎阳侯。高帝十一年(公元前196年)的秋天，淮南王英布反叛，向东吞并了荆国地区，劫掠荆国的军队，向西渡过淮河，攻击楚国，高帝亲自率领军队前往讨伐他。刘仲的儿子沛侯刘濞年方二十岁，有勇气和力量，身为骑将跟从军队在蕲地西面的会甄击破了英布的军队，英布逃跑了。荆王刘贾被英布所杀，没有后代。皇上忧虑吴、会稽等地的人轻躁强悍，没有强壮的侯王来镇守那里，儿子们都还年少，就封立刘濞在沛做了吴王，统辖三郡五十三城。已经举行过仪式接受了印信，高帝召见刘濞观察他



## Liu Bi, Prince of Wu

Liu Bi, prince of Wu, was the son of Emperor Gaozu's elder brother Liu Zhong.

In the seventh year of the reign of the First Emperor,<sup>1</sup> after he had pacified the empire he made Liu Zhong prince of Dai. Then the Huns attacked Dai and Liu Zhong, unable to defend it, abandoned his principality and fled to Luoyang to throw himself on the mercy of the emperor. Since they were the same flesh and blood, the emperor could not bring himself to exact the full legal penalty but merely deposed Liu Zhong and made him marquis of Heyang.

In the autumn of the eleventh year of the First Emperor, Ying Bu, prince of Huainan, rebelled, annexed Jing in the east, seized its troops and crossed west over the River Huai to attack Chu. Emperor Gaozu himself led the army to suppress the revolt.

Liu Zhong's son Liu Bi, marquis of Pei, was twenty at this time and a brave fighter. He joined the expedition as a cavalry officer and helped to defeat Ying Bu's army at Kuaiji west of Qi, putting Ying Bu to flight.

Liu Jia, the prince of Jing, had been killed by Ying Bu and left no heir. The men of Wu and Kuaiji were reckless and given to violence and the emperor was concerned that they had no strong prince to control them. Since his own sons were too young, while in Pei he made Liu Bi the prince of Wu to govern its three provinces and fifty-three cities.

## 【原文】

已拜受印，高帝召濞相之，谓曰：“若状有反相。”心独悔，业已拜，因拊其背，告曰：“汉后五十年东南有乱者，岂若邪？然天下同姓为一家也，慎无反！”濞顿首曰：“不敢。”

会孝惠、高后时，天下初定，郡国诸侯各务自拊循其民。吴有豫章郡铜山，濞则招致天下亡命者盗铸钱，煮海水为盐，以故无赋，国用富饶。

孝文时，吴太子入见，得侍皇太子饮博。吴太子师傅皆楚人，轻悍，又素骄，博，争道，不恭，皇太子引博局提吴太子，杀之。于是遣其丧归葬。至吴，吴王愠曰：“天下同宗，死长安即葬长安，何必来葬为！”复遣丧之长安葬。吴王由此稍失藩臣之礼，称

## 【今译】

的相貌，说道：“你的相貌有反叛的模样。”心里自觉后悔，可已经任命他为王了，于是就拍着他的脊背，告诫说：“汉朝今后五十年东南有作乱的，难道会是你吗？然而天下同姓的都是一家人，千万不要反叛！”刘濞磕头说：“我不敢。”

当孝惠帝、高后的时候，天下刚刚平定，各郡国的诸侯各自尽力安抚他们的百姓。吴国有豫章郡的铜矿山，刘濞就招募天下逃亡的人私自铸造钱币，熬煮海水制盐，因此不用征缴赋税，国家于是财用富足。

孝文帝的时候，吴太子进京朝见，得以陪皇太子饮酒、博戏。吴太子的师傅都是楚地的人，轻躁强悍，又平素骄狂，博戏的时候，争夺博局上的通道，很不恭敬，皇太子拿起博局台盘掷击吴太子，杀死了他。于是朝廷就送他的灵柩回去安葬。到了吴国，吴王怨怒说道：“天下同是一家的，死在长安就葬在长安，为什么一定要送回来安葬呢！”又遣送灵柩到长安去安葬。吴王从此



After Liu Bi had accepted the official seal, Emperor Gaozu sent for him and examined his features. "This man has the face of a rebel!" he exclaimed and regretted his decision. But since the appointment was already made he patted Liu Bi on the back and said, "Within fifty years there will be a rising in the southeast — will that be your doing? Now the empire belongs to our clan, we are all one family. Mind you do not rebel!"

Liu Bi bowed and answered, "How would I dare do such a thing?"

During the reigns of Emperor Hui and Empress Lü,<sup>2</sup> order was newly restored to the empire and the princes were busy pacifying their people. Wu had mountains rich in copper at Yuzhang, and Liu Bi gathered fugitives from justice and brigands from all sides to mint money and boil sea water to extract salt. Since no taxes were imposed on these occupations, his principality soon became rich.

During the reign of Emperor Wen,<sup>3</sup> Liu Bi's son went to court, where he drank and played checkers with the crown prince. The prince of Wu's tutors, all of whom came from Chu, were reckless arrogant men, and one day he disputed so rudely over the score that the crown prince struck him with the checker-board and killed him. His body was sent home for burial to Wu.

"The whole empire belongs to the clan of Liu!" declared Liu Bi angrily. "Since he died in Chang'an, why not bury him in Chang'an? Why must he be buried here?" He sent the body back to the capital for burial.

After this, Liu Bi gradually stopped showing the respect due from



### 【原文】

病不朝。京师知其以子故称病不朝，验问实不病，诸吴使来，辄系责治之。吴王恐，为谋滋甚。及后使人为秋请，上复责问吴使者，使者对曰：“王实不病，汉系治使者数辈，以故遂称病。且夫‘察见渊中鱼，不祥’。今王始诈病，及觉，见责急，愈益闭，恐上诛之，计乃无聊。唯上弃之而与更始。”于是天子乃赦吴使者归之，而赐吴王几杖，老，不朝。吴得释其罪，谋亦益解。然其居国以铜盐故，百姓无赋。卒践更，辄与平贾。岁时存问茂材，赏赐闾里。它郡国吏欲来捕亡人者，讼共禁弗予。如此者四十余年，以故能使其众。

### 【今译】

就逐渐丢掉了属臣的礼仪，声称有病不去朝见了。朝廷知道他是因为儿子的缘故托辞害病而不来朝见，察验盘问之后，实际没病，各位吴国使臣来的时候，就扣留住，责问惩治他们。吴王害怕了，策划阴谋更加厉害。等到后来派人代行秋季朝见礼仪，皇上又责问吴国使者，使者回答说：“吴王确实没得病，汉朝廷扣留惩治了几批使者，因此吴王就托辞害病了。况且‘察看到深渊中的鱼，不吉利’。假若吴王当初装病，等到发觉了，被责问得很急迫，就越加隐秘，害怕皇上处死他，这计谋也是出于无奈。希望皇上丢开这事而让他重新开始。”于是天子就赦免了吴国使者，让他们回去了，又赐给吴王几案和拐杖，说年老就不必朝见了。吴王得以解脱了他的罪责，阴谋也就渐渐停止了。然而他所在的国家里因为产铜产盐的缘故，百姓无须缴纳赋税。士卒去服兵役，总是发给代役金。年中一定时候，慰问有才之士，赏赐闾里百姓。其它郡国的官吏要来抓捕逃亡的人，他们便庇护起来，一概阻止，不交出他们。就这样持续了四十多年，因此吴王能够驱使他的百姓。



a vassal and, pleading illness, absented himself from court. The authorities knew this was because of the death of his son. Having ascertained that he was not ill at all, they arrested and cross-examined all envoys from Wu. Then the prince of Wu, in his alarm, started plotting seriously.

Later he sent someone else to pay the autumn homage in his place. The envoy from Wu, questioned by the emperor, confessed, "The prince is not actually ill but is pleading sickness because so many of his envoys have been arrested and tried. Peering too closely at fish in deep waters will only lead to trouble. The prince began by feigning illness, but since that was discovered and pressure applied he is growing more and more desperate. Fear of punishment may lead him to some folly. But if you will overlook the past, he can make a fresh start."

Then the emperor pardoned the envoy and sent him back with a low table and a walking-stick as gifts for the prince of Wu, implying that he was too old to come to court. And thanks to this lenient treatment, the prince abandoned his schemes. At the same time, because his principality produced salt and copper, the people were exempt from taxes. Compulsory labour exemptions were sold at a fair price, while at certain times each year the prince recruited able men and rewarded deserving villages. And when other provinces or principalities sent men to arrest fugitives there, he refused to hand them over. So it went on for forty years and more, and the people of Wu were devoted to their prince.

**【原文】**

晁错为太子家令，得幸太子，数从容言吴过可削。数上书说孝文帝，文帝宽，不忍罚，以此吴日益横。及孝景帝即位，错为御史大夫，说上曰：“昔高帝初定天下，昆弟少，诸子弱，大封同姓，故王孽子悼惠王王齐七十余城，庶弟元王王楚四十余城，兄子濞王吴五十余城；封三庶孽，分天下半。今吴王前有太子之隙，诈称病不朝，于古法当诛，文帝弗忍，因赐几杖。德至厚，当改过自新。乃益骄溢，即山铸钱，煮海水为盐，诱天下亡人，谋作乱。今削之亦反，不削之亦反。削之，其反亟，祸小；不削，反迟，祸大。”三年冬，楚王朝，晁错因言楚王戊往年为薄太后服，私奸服舍，请

**【今译】**

晁错担任太子家令，得以受到太子宠幸，数次怂恿说以吴王的过失，可以削减他的封地。又多次上书劝说孝文帝，文帝很宽容，不忍心惩罚，因此吴王日益骄横。等到孝景帝即位，晁错担任了御史大夫，劝皇上说：“当初高帝刚刚平定天下，兄弟很少，儿子们又都幼弱，大量地分封同姓，因此封庶子悼惠王为王，统治齐国七十多个城，庶弟元王统治楚国四十多个城，哥哥的儿子刘濞统治吴国五十多个城；赐封三个旁支亲属为王，分去了一半的天下。如今吴王以前因为有太子被杀死的嫌隙，假称有病不来朝见，按照古来的法律应当诛杀，文帝不忍心，因而赐他几案和拐杖。恩德极其深厚，他应当改过自新。却更加骄横自满，依靠铜矿铸造钱币，熬煮海水制盐，引诱天下逃亡的人，阴谋作乱。如今削夺他的封地他会反叛，不削夺他的封地也会反叛。削夺他的封地，他反叛得急些，祸害小；不削夺他的封地，他反叛得迟缓一些，祸害大。”景帝三年（公元前154年）的冬天，楚王朝见，晁错就提出楚王刘戊去年给薄太后服丧，私下在服丧的宫室犯了



Chao Cuo, the imperial crown prince's favoured chamberlain, several times pointed out the faults of the prince of Wu and urged that his territory be reduced. He presented memorials on this subject to Emperor Wen, but the emperor was too lenient to punish the prince, who as a result became more insubordinate every day.

When Emperor Jing ascended the throne,<sup>4</sup> Chao Cuo was made grand secretary. He advised the new emperor saying, "When Emperor Gaozu first restored peace to the empire he gave large fiefs to his kinsmen because he had few brothers and his sons were still children. Thus Prince Daohui of Qi, his son by a concubine, ruled over seventy cities; Prince Yuan of Chu, a half brother, had over forty cities; Liu Bi, his elder brother's son, had over fifty. These three sons of concubines had half the empire between them.

"The prince of Wu, embittered by his son's death, absented himself from court on the pretext of illness, and according to established law he should have been punished. But Emperor Wen in his clemency gave him a low table and walking-stick instead. Such good treatment should have made him mend his ways, yet he is growing more insubordinate. He mints money in the mountains, boils sea water to extract salt, and has gathered fugitives from all parts of the land to plot treason. He will revolt whether you cut down his fief or not. If you do, his revolt will come sooner and cause less damage. If you do not, his revolt will come later and the damage will be much greater."

In the winter of the third year of Emperor Jing, the prince of Chu came to court and Chao Cuo urged that he be executed because previously, when mourning for Empress Bo, he had been guilty of

## 【原文】

诛之。诏赦，罚削东海郡。因削吴之豫章郡、会稽郡。及前二年赵王有罪，削其河间郡。胶西王卬以卖爵有奸，削其六县。

汉廷臣方议削吴。吴王濞恐削地无已，因以此发谋，欲举事。念诸侯无足与计谋者，闻胶西王勇，好气，喜兵，诸齐皆惮畏，于是乃使中大夫应高誘胶西王。无文书，口报曰：“吴王不肖，有宿夕之忧，不敢自外，使喻其欢心。”王曰：“何以教之？”高曰：“今者主上兴于奸，饰于邪臣，好小善，听谗贼，擅变更律令，侵夺诸侯之地，征求滋多，诛罚良善，日以益甚。里语有之，‘舐糠及米’。吴与胶西，知名诸侯也，一时见察，恐不得安肆矣。吴王

## 【今译】

奸淫罪，请求处死他。景帝下诏赦免了他，责罚他，削夺了东海郡。趁势削夺了吴国的豫章郡、会稽郡。以及前两年赵王有罪，削夺了他的河间郡。胶西王刘卬因为出卖爵位犯有奸科，削夺了他六个县。

汉朝的大臣们正议论着削夺吴国封地。吴王刘濞惟恐削减封地无休无止，就趁此萌发阴谋，想要起事。想到诸侯中没有值得跟他谋划的人，听说胶西王很有勇力，好争气斗狠，喜欢战争，齐地中各小国都畏惧他，于是就派中大夫应高去引诱胶西王。没有文字书信，口头通报说：“吴王不贤能，有早晚将临的忧患，不敢把自己看作外人，派我来明说他的好意。”胶西王问：“有什么要赐教的？”应高说：“如今主上提拔奸臣，称赞心术不正的臣子，贪好小的好处，听信进谗言的贼人，擅自更改法律条令，侵占掠夺诸侯的封地，强征索求越来越多，诛杀处罚善良的人，一天比一天更厉害。乡里俗语中有这样的话，‘开始时舔食米糠，后来就吃起了米’。吴国和胶西国，都是知名的诸侯国，一旦被



illicit intercourse while living in mourning quarters. The emperor commuted his punishment into confiscation of the province of Donghai. At the same time he deprived the prince of Wu of the provinces of Yuzhang and Kuaiji. Two years previously the prince of Zhao had lost the province of Hejian for some offence, while Prince Ang of Jiaoxi had been deprived of six counties on account of his illegal sale of ranks.

While the ministers at court were discussing the diminution of Wu's territory, the prince of Wu, fearing that he would soon have no fief left, began to make plans for revolt. He could think of no worthy confederate among the feudal lords, but having heard that the prince of Jiaoxi was bold, spirited, warlike and feared by all the other principalities of Qi, he sent his minister Ying Gao to win him over. Ying Gao took nothing in writing but delivered a verbal message.

"The prince of Wu, unworthy as he is, has long been worried," he said. "He dares not leave his territory but has sent me to convey his greetings to you."

"What are his instructions?" asked the prince of Jiaoxi.

"Our present emperor favours wicked men and is surrounded by evil ministers," said Ying Gao. "He thinks only of trifles and gives ear to slander. Laws are arbitrarily rescinded, land is seized from the feudal lords, more demands are made every day and more innocent citizens punished. Country folk have a saying, 'Once the husk is licked away it is the turn of the rice'. The princes of Wu and Jiaoxi are famed throughout the land, but once an investigation begins you will lose your free-



### 【原文】

身有内病，不能朝请二十余年，尝患见疑，无以自白，今胁肩累足，犹惧不见释。窃闻大王以爵事有适，所闻诸侯削地，罪不至此，此恐不得削地而已。”王曰：“然，有之。子将奈何？”高曰：“同恶相助，同好相留，同情相成，同欲相趋，同利相死。今吴王自以为与大王同忧，愿因时循理，弃躯以除患者于天下，億亦可乎？”王瞿然骇曰：“寡人何敢如是？今主上虽急，固有死耳，安得不戴？”高曰：“御史大夫晁错，荧惑天子，侵夺诸侯，蔽忠塞贤，朝廷疾怨，诸侯皆有倍畔之意，人事极矣。彗星出，蝗虫数起，此万世一时，而愁劳圣人之所以起也。故吴王欲内以晁错为

### 【今译】

察觉，恐怕就不得安宁自由了。吴王身上有暗疾，不能朝见已经二十多年了，曾经忧虑被猜疑，没有办法自己表白，如今吓得耸肩迭足，还害怕不被宽恕。我私下听说大王您因为出卖爵位的事犯有罪责，所听到的诸侯被削夺封地，罪过还不到这个程度，这恐怕不止削减封地就能了事的。”胶西王说：“是的，有这事。您将要怎么办呢？”应高说：“憎恨相同的就要互相援助，有相同爱好的要相互体贴，心性相同的要互相成全，愿望相同的要一起追求，利益相同的要能共生死。如今吴王自己认为和大王有共同的忧患，希望能顺应时势，遵循事理，牺牲生命来为天下人除去祸害，料想也可以吧？”胶西王惊骇说：“寡人怎么敢这样呢？如今主上虽然行事过急，我本来就有死罪啊，怎么能够不拥戴他呢？”应高说：“御史大夫晁错，迷惑天子，侵占削夺诸侯封地，蒙蔽忠良，阻塞贤能，朝廷里人们愤恨怨怒，诸侯国都有背叛的意图，人情事理已经达到极点了。彗星出现，蝗虫之灾多次发生，这是万代难逢的一个时机，而忧愁劳苦正可以促使圣人兴起。因此吴



dom of action. For more than twenty years the prince of Wu has not been well enough to pay homage at court. He fears suspicion may fall on him and he will be unable to clear himself. Even cringing and cowering may not procure him a pardon. It is said that Your Highness has had some trouble over the sale of ranks, while other nobles have been deprived of territory for even less than that. And loss of territory may not be the end."

"That is so," said the prince of Jiaoxi. "What would you advise?"

"Those who hate the same things help each other, those who love the same things hold together," said Ying Gao. "Those with common sympathies co-operate, those with common desires seek the same goal, and those with common interests die for each other. The prince of Wu believes that he has the same cause for anxiety as Your Highness. The time has come, he thinks, to stand up for the right and risk your lives to rid the empire of calamity. Do you approve of this plan?"

"How dare I contemplate such a thing?" exclaimed the prince taken aback. "If the emperor presses me hard, all I can do is to die. How can I withdraw my allegiance?"

"The chief counsellor Chao Cuo is deceiving the emperor, depriving princes of their rights and debarring the loyal and good from government posts. Feeling is running high at court and all the princes have rebellion in their hearts. Matters have come to a head now. Comets have appeared and there have been plagues of locusts. This is a time which comes only once in ten thousand generations: it is in troubled days like these that sages arise. The prince of Wu means to rid the court



### 【原文】

讨，外随大王后车，彷徉天下，所乡者降，所指者下，天下莫敢不服。大王诚幸而许之一言，则吴王率楚王略函谷关，守荥阳敖仓之粟，距汉兵。治次舍，须大王。大王有幸而临之，则天下可并，两主分割，不亦可乎？”王曰：“善。”高归报吴王，吴王犹恐其不与，乃身自为使，使于胶西，面结之。

胶西群臣或闻王谋，谏曰：“承一帝，至乐也。今大王与吴西乡，弟令事成，两主分争，患乃始结。诸侯之地不足为汉郡什二，而为畔逆以忧太后，非长策也。”王弗听。遂发使约齐、菑川、胶东、济南、济北，皆许诺，而曰“城阳景王有义，攻诸吕，勿与，

### 【今译】

王想要在朝廷内以讨伐晁错为名，在外面就跟随大王您后面的兵马，驰骋天下，所指向的军队都降服他们，所指向的地方都攻下它，天下没有敢不屈服的。大王如果真能够有幸许诺一句话，那么吴王就率领楚王夺取函谷关，守住荥阳敖仓的粮食，抗拒汉朝军队。安排下军队行营，等候大王。大王如果有幸而亲临那里，那么天下就可以并吞，两位君主平分天下，不也可以吗？”胶西王说：“好吧。”应高回去报告给吴王，吴王还恐怕他不赞同，就亲自做使者，出使到胶西国，当面和他结盟。

胶西的群臣当中有人听说了胶西王的阴谋，劝谏说：“拥戴一个皇帝，是最快意的事。如今大王和吴王向西进军，即使事情成功，两个君主分裂争斗，祸患也就开始结成了。诸侯的封地还不到汉朝郡县的十分之二，却要发动叛乱让太后担忧，不是长远的计策。”胶西王不听。于是就派遣使者约定齐王、菑川王、胶东王、济南王、济北王，都答应了，而且认为“城阳景王有义气，攻打过吕氏诸人，不用去和他约定了，事情平定之后让他分



of Chao Cuo and then journey in your train through the provinces. Wherever you go men will surrender to you, and every city you want to take will fall, for no one in the empire will dare to resist. Your Majesty has only to give the word and the prince of Wu, leading the prince of Chu, will seize the Hangu Pass, guard the granaries of Xingyang and Aocang, hold back the soldiers of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) and prepare quarters in readiness for you and your guard. If you will honour us by taking part, sir, the whole empire can be conquered and divided between you and the prince of Wu. Is this not feasible?"

"Very well," said the prince of Jiaoxi.

After Ying Gao returned to report this, the prince of Wu, still afraid that the other might not join him, went in person to reach an agreement with the prince of Jiaoxi.

Some ministers of the prince of Jiaoxi learned of this plot and advised against it, saying, "Allegiance to one emperor is best of all. Now you mean to march west with the prince of Wu but, even if you succeed, trouble will follow when you both contend for power. The lands of the princes make up less than one-fifth of the empire. It would not be wise to revolt and cause anxiety to the empress dowager."

Instead of listening to them, however, the prince sent envoys to enlist the support of the princes of Qi, Zichuan, Jiaodong, Jinan and Jibei, all of whom consented to join the conspiracy. "Prince Jing of Chengyang showed his loyalty in the overthrow of the Lü clan," they said. "He would not take part. When all is done we shall share the empire with him."

### 【原文】

事定分之耳”。

诸侯既新削罚，振恐，多怨晁错。及削吴会稽、豫章郡书至，则吴王先起兵，胶西正月丙午诛汉吏二千石以下，胶东、菑川、济南、楚、赵亦然，遂发兵西。齐王后悔，饮药自杀，畔约。济北王城坏未完，其郎中令劫守其王，不得发兵。胶西为渠率，胶东、菑川、济南共攻围临菑。赵王遂亦反，阴使匈奴与连兵。

七国之发也，吴王悉其士卒，下令国中曰：“寡人年六十二，身自将。少子年十四，亦为士卒先。诸年上与寡人比，下与少子等者，皆发。”发二十余万人。南使闽越、东越，东越亦发

### 【今译】

享吧”。

诸侯们新近已经受到削减封地的处罚，震惊恐惧，很多人怨恨晁错。等到削减吴国会稽郡、豫章郡封地的文书到达，吴王就先行发出军队，胶西王在正月丙午日诛杀汉朝二千石以下的官吏，胶东王、菑川王、济南王、楚王、赵王也这样干了，于是就发动军队西进。齐王后悔，喝毒药自杀了，背叛了盟约。济北王的城墙坏了还没有修复，他的郎中令强制看守住他们的国王，没有能够发出军队。胶西王成了首领，胶东王、菑川王、济南王共同围攻临菑。赵王刘遂也反叛了，暗地派使者到匈奴联合它的军队。

七个诸侯国发动叛乱，吴王动用了全部的士卒，下令全国说：“寡人六十二岁了，亲自率领军队。小儿子十四岁，也要走在士卒前面。各位年龄上跟寡人一样，下跟小儿子一样的人，都要出发。”出动了二十余万人。向南派使者到闽越、东越，东越也发



The princes lived in fear because of recent punishments or the confiscation of their land, and greatly hated Chao Cuo. When the order came that the provinces of Kuaiji and Yuzhang were to be taken from Wu, the prince of Wu took the lead in calling out his troops. In the first month all Han officers from the two thousand piculs rank downwards were killed in Wu and Jiaoxi. The same was done in Jiaodong, Zichuan, Jinan, Chu and Zhao, after which the rebels marched west.

The prince of Qi, repenting, went back on his word and took his own life by drinking poison. The wall of the prince of Jibei's capital was under repair, and the chief of his palace guard forcibly restrained him from sending out his troops.

With the prince of Jiaoxi in command, the forces of Jiaodong, Zichuan and Jinan besieged Linzi. The prince of Zhao also rebelled and secretly sent for the Huns to join his forces.

As soon as the seven princes rose in revolt, the prince of Wu mobilized his troops and issued this proclamation: "I am sixty-two, yet I shall lead the troops in person. My youngest son is fourteen but he too will march in the vanguard. Let all men no older than myself and no younger than my son take up arms!" He raised an army of more than two hundred thousand and sent envoys south to the Minyue and Dongyue tribes,<sup>5</sup> and Dongyue dispatched troops to join him.

### 【原文】

兵从。

孝景帝三年正月甲子，初起兵于广陵。西涉淮，因并楚兵。发使遗诸侯书曰：“吴王刘濞敬问胶西王、胶东王、菑川王、济南王、赵王、楚王、淮南王、衡山王、庐江王、故长沙王子；幸教寡人！以汉有贼臣，无功天下，侵夺诸侯地，使吏劾系讯治，以僇辱之为故，不以诸侯人君礼遇刘氏骨肉，绝先帝功臣，进任奸宄，诖乱天下，欲危社稷。陛下多病志失，不能省察。欲举兵诛之，谨闻教。敝国虽狭，地方三千里；人虽少，精兵可具五十万。寡人素事南越三十余年，其王君皆不辞分其卒以随寡人，又可得三十万人。寡人虽不肖，愿以身从诸王。越直长沙者，因王子定长沙以北，西

### 【今译】

动军队跟从。

孝景帝三年(公元前154年)正月甲子日，先从广陵起兵。向西渡过淮河，于是和楚国军队会合在一起。派遣使者给诸侯送书信说：“吴王刘濞恭敬地问候胶西王、胶东王、菑川王、济南王、赵王、楚王、淮南王、衡山王、庐江王、原长沙王的公子：敬请指教寡人！因为汉朝有奸臣，对天下没有任何功劳，侵占削夺诸侯的封地，指使官吏弹劾、拘禁、审讯、惩治，专以侮辱诸侯为能事，不按照诸侯国君主的礼仪对待刘氏的兄弟骨肉，绝交先帝的功臣，推荐任用奸邪作乱的人，欺骗扰乱天下，想要危害国家。陛下多病，神志失常，不能察觉。我想要发动军队诛杀他，敬听指教。我国虽然狭小，土地方圆三千里；人口虽然少，精锐的士兵可以准备下五十万人。寡人一向结交南越三十多年，那里的国王和君长都不推辞，分出他们的士兵来跟随寡人，又可以得到三十多万人。寡人虽然不贤能，甘愿亲身随从各位国王。越和长沙交界，由长沙王

The rebellion broke out at Guangling in the first month of the third year of Emperor Jing. The prince of Wu crossed the River Huai to the west and joined the army of Chu. He sent envoys to the other princes bearing this letter:

Liu Bi, prince of Wu, sends his greetings to the princes of Jiaoxi, Jiaodong, Zichuan, Jinan, Zhao, Chu, Huainan, Hengshan and Lujiang, and the two sons of the late prince of Changsha. Han has evil ministers who do not serve the empire but seize the lands of the princes and arrest and try their envoys, not showing the respect due to kinsmen of the imperial clan of Liu. The good ministers of the last reign are thrust aside while scoundrels are given posts, causing confusion throughout the land and endangering the state. Since the emperor, in bad health and infirm of purpose, is unable to see the true state of affairs, I am raising troops to destroy the evil-doers. I hope for guidance from you.

Although my principality is small, it covers three thousand square *li* of land. Although my people are few, I can gather half a million picked troops. The chieftains of Nanyue, whom I have aided for thirty years and more, have acceded to my request and placed their troops under my command, giving me an additional three hundred thousand men. Unworthy as I am, I would like to follow the lead of the other princes.

Since Nanyue lies next to Changsha, the sons of the late prince of





### 【原文】

走蜀、汉中。告越、楚王、淮南三王，与寡人西面；齐诸王与赵王定河间、河内，或入临晋关，或与寡人会洛阳；燕王、赵王固与胡王有约，燕王北定代、云中，转胡众入萧关，走长安，匡正天子，以安高庙。愿王勉之。楚元王子、淮南三王或不沐洗十余年，怨入骨髓，欲一有所出之久矣，寡人未得诸王之意，未敢听。今诸王苟能存亡继绝，振弱伐暴，以安刘氏，社稷之所愿也。敝国虽贫，寡人节衣食之用，积金钱，修兵革，聚谷食，夜以继日，三十一年矣。凡为此，愿诸王勉用之。能斩捕大将者，赐金五千斤，封万户；列将，三千斤，封五千户；裨将，二千斤，封二千户；二千

### 【今译】

的儿子平定长沙以北地区，向西直到蜀和汉中。告知越王、楚王、淮南王三位国王，和寡人西进；齐地各位国王和赵王平定河间、河内，一路攻入临晋关，一路和寡人到洛阳会合；燕王、赵王原本和匈奴王有约定，燕王向北平定代郡、云中郡，统领匈奴的军队攻入萧关，直趋长安，纠正天子过错，使高庙安定。希望国王们努力。楚元王的儿子、淮南三位国王有的没有得以沐洗十多年了，怨恨已深入骨髓，想要一有机会就发泄出来已很长时间了，寡人没有得知各位国王的意图，没敢听从。如今各位国王如果能够使灭亡的国家得以复存，断绝了的后代得以延续，拯救弱小，讨伐强暴，从而使刘氏安定下来，这是国家的愿望。我国虽然贫穷，寡人节省穿衣吃饭的费用，积攒金钱，整修武器，积聚粮食，夜以继日，三十多年了。全都是为了这件事，希望各位国王好好利用这些条件。能够斩杀捕获大将的，赏金五千斤，封给食邑万户；斩杀捕获一般将领的，赏金三千斤，封食邑五千户；斩杀、捕获副将的，赏金二千斤，封给食邑二千户；斩杀、捕获



Changsha should pacify the land to their north, then march west to Hanzhong and Shu. The chieftains of Dongyue, the prince of Chu and the three princes of Huainan, Hengshan and Lujiang, should march west with me. The princes of Qi and Zhao should pacify Hejian and Henei, then proceed through the Linjin Pass or join my forces at Luoyang. Since the princes of Yan and Zhao have an alliance with the Hunnish chief, let the prince of Yan advance north to conquer Dai and Yunzhong, then lead the Hunnish hordes through the Xiao Pass. We shall enter Chang'an to rectify the emperor's mistakes and preserve the ancestral temples of the founder of the dynasty. I trust all these princes will take action!

The son of Prince Yuan of Chu and the three princes of Huainan, Hengshan and Lujiang have not bathed for ten years and more, so deep is their hatred and longing for revenger I have not ventured to agree to their wish without first obtaining the other princes' consent. But if the princes will preserve the descendants of the dead, protect the weak and fight against tyranny to safeguard the Liu clan, this will satisfy the longing of the people.

Although my principality is poor, I have dressed and eaten frugally to lay by money, prepare arms and accumulate grain for thirty years and more without a break. I hope the other princes will make use of this.

The reward for killing or capturing a marshal shall be five thousand catties of gold and a fief of ten thousand households; for a general, three thousand catties of gold and five thousand households; for a lieutenant-general, two thousand catties and two thousand households;



### 【原文】

石，千斤，封千户；千石，五百斤，封五百户：皆为列侯。其以军若城邑降者，卒万人，邑万户，如得大将；人户五千，如得列将；人户三千，如得裨将；人户千，如得二千石；其小吏皆以差次受爵金。它封赐皆倍军法。其有故爵邑者，更益勿因。愿诸王明以令士大夫，弗敢欺也。寡人金钱在天下者往往而有，非必取于吴，诸王日夜用之弗能尽。有当赐者告寡人，寡人且往遗之。敬以闻。”

七国反书闻天子，天子乃遣太尉条侯周亚夫将三十六将军，往击吴楚；遣曲周侯郦寄击赵；将军栾布击齐；大将军窦婴屯荥阳，监齐赵兵。

### 【今译】

二千石级官员的，赏金一千斤，封给食邑一千户；斩杀、捕获千石级官员的，赏金五百斤，封给食邑五百户：都封为列侯。那些带着军队或者城邑来投降的，如果士兵一万人，城邑一万户，比照获得大将的给予封赏；士兵五千人，城邑五千户，比照获得一般将领的给予封赏；士兵三千人，城邑三千户，比照获得副将的给予封赏；士兵一千人，城邑一千户，比照获得二千石级官员的给予封赏；那些小官吏来降的都按照等级受封爵和赏金。其它封爵赏金都按照军功法加倍。那些原先有爵位、城邑的，就再给增加，不止维持原状。希望各位国王明确地通令士大夫们，不应有所欺骗。寡人的金钱在天下到处都有，不一定都要到吴国来拿，各位国王日日夜夜使用也用不完。如有应予赏赐的人，可以告诉给寡人，寡人将会前往授予他。恭敬地让诸位听到。”

七国的反叛文书让天子听到了，天子就派遣太尉条侯周亚夫率领三十六位将军，前往攻击吴国、楚国的军队；派遣曲周侯郦寄去攻击赵国军队；将军栾布攻击齐国军队；大将军窦婴屯军在荥阳，监视齐国、赵国的军队。



for an officer of the two thousand piculs rank, a thousand catties and a thousand households; for an officer of the one thousand piculs rank, five hundred catties and five hundred households. And all these men will receive the title of marquis. The reward for coming over to our side with an army of ten thousand men or a city of ten thousand households shall be the same as for the capture of a marshal; for five thousand men or five thousand households, the same as for the capture of a general; for three thousand men or three thousand households, the same as for the capture of a lieutenant-general; for a thousand men or a thousand households, the same as for the capture of an officer of the two thousand piculs rank. Junior officers who come over shall receive gold and rank according to their merit. Other rewards shall be double the conventional standard, and those already awarded ranks and fiefs shall receive new rewards over and above what they have. I hope the princes will announce this to their officers, for I shall not go back on my word. I have funds not only in Wu but all over the empire, an inexhaustible supply even if the princes draw on it day and night. If anyone deserves a reward, you have only to let me know and I shall send it. I proclaim this respectfully.

When this letter announcing the seven princes' rebellion reached the emperor, he sent the Grand Marshal Zhou Yafu, marquis of Tiao, at the head of thirty-six generals to attack Wu and Chu. Li Ji, marquis of Quzhou, was sent to attack Zhao, General Luan Bu to attack Qi, and Marshal Dou Ying to station troops at Xingyang to await the armies of Qi and Zhao.



## 【原文】

吴楚反书闻，兵未发，窦婴未行，言故吴相袁盎。盎时家居，诏召入见。上方与晁错调兵算军食，上问袁盎曰：“君尝为吴相，知吴臣田禄伯为人乎？今吴楚反，于公何如？”对曰：“不足忧也，今破矣。”上曰：“吴王即山铸钱，煮海水为盐，诱天下豪桀，白头举事。若此，其计不百全，岂发乎？何以言其无能为也？”袁盎对曰：“吴有铜盐利则有之，安得豪桀而诱之！诚令吴得豪桀，亦且辅王为义，不反矣。吴所诱皆无赖子弟，亡命铸钱奸人，故相率以反。”晁错曰：“袁盎策之善。”上问曰：“计安出？”盎对曰：“愿屏左右。”上屏人，独错在。盎曰：“臣所言，

## 【今译】

吴国、楚国的反叛文书已经上报了，军队尚未发出，窦婴尚未启行，说起原来吴国的丞相袁盎。袁盎当时在家住着，皇上诏令他进见。皇上正在和晁错一起计算军队和军粮，皇上问袁盎道：“您曾经做过吴国丞相，知道吴国大臣田禄伯的为人吗？如今吴国、楚国反叛，在您看来该怎么办呢？”袁盎回答说：“不值得忧虑，如今可以破敌了。”皇上说：“吴王靠着铜矿山铸造钱币，熬煮海水制盐，引诱天下的豪杰，到了头发白了才发动事变。像这样，他的计谋不百倍周全，怎么能发动呢？凭什么说他没有作为呢？”袁盎回答说：“吴国拥有铜矿、海盐的好处那倒是有的，怎么能够找到豪杰去引诱来呢！果真让吴王得到了豪杰，也就会辅佐君王行仁义之事，不去反叛了。吴王所引诱的都是无赖子弟，逃亡在外私铸钱币的奸佞小人，因此互相在一起反叛。”晁错说：“袁盎考虑的正确。”皇上问道：“对策如何呢？”袁盎回答说：“希望您屏退左右的人。”皇上屏退旁人，惟独晁错在旁。袁盎



The report of the rebellion had arrived but troops had not yet been dispatched when Dou Ying, before setting out, recommended Yuan Ang, the former prime minister to the prince of Wu who was then living in retirement. The emperor sent for Yuan Ang, who arrived as Emperor Jing and Chao Cuo were discussing the disposition of troops and the army supplies.

"You were once the prime minister of Wu," said the emperor to Yuan Ang. "What do you know of their marshal Tian Lubo? And what do you think of this revolt of Wu and Chu?"

"There is no need to worry," Yuan Ang replied. "They will soon be defeated."

"The prince of Wu has minted money in the mountains, extracted salt from the sea and attracted useful men from all over the land," said the emperor. "Would a white-haired old man have started this revolt unless he had a foolproof plan? How can you dismiss it as nothing?"

"True, Wu makes a lot of money out of copper and salt," said Yuan Ang. "But what good men has the prince been able to attract? If he had any, they would have advised him to do what is right, not to rebel. He has simply assembled some scoundrels, fugitives from justice and criminals who coin counterfeit money. That is why they have encouraged him to revolt."

"Let Yuan Ang draw up a plan for us," said Chao Cuo.

"What plan do you suggest?" asked the emperor.

"I would like to speak with you in private," replied Yuan Ang.

The emperor dismissed his attendants, leaving only Chao Cuo.



## 【原文】

人臣不得知也。”乃屏错。错趋避东厢，恨甚。上卒问盎，盎对曰：“吴楚相遗书，曰‘高帝王子弟各有分地，今贼臣晁错擅谪过诸侯，削夺之地’。故以反为名，西共诛晁错，复故地而罢。方今计独斩晁错，发使赦吴楚七国，复其故削地，则兵可无血刃而俱罢。”于是上嘿然良久，曰：“顾诚何如，吾不爱一人以谢天下。”盎曰：“臣愚计无出此，愿上孰计之。”乃拜盎为太常，吴王弟子德侯为宗正。盎装治行。后十余日，上使中尉召错，给载行东市。错衣朝衣斩东市。则遣袁盎奉宗庙，宗正辅亲戚，使告吴如盎策。至吴，吴楚兵已攻梁壁矣。宗正以亲故，先入见，谕吴王使

## 【今译】

说：“我所要说的话，做臣子的不能听到。”皇上于是就屏退晁错。晁错快步躲避到东厢房，非常恼恨。皇上终于又问袁盎，袁盎回答道：“吴、楚互相发下文书，说‘高帝使子弟称王，各自领有自己统治的地方，如今奸臣晁错擅自谴责诸侯，削夺他们的封地’。因此以反叛为名义，向西共同来诛杀晁错，恢复原有的封地才罢休。如今的计策惟有斩杀晁错，派遣使者赦免吴、楚七国，恢复他们原有的被削夺的封地，那样就可以兵不血刃而使各方罢手。”当时皇上沉默了好久，说道：“可真是该怎么办呢，我只有不惜一个人来向天下人赔罪了。”袁盎说：“我愚蠢的计策没有超出这个的了，希望皇上仔细考虑它。”于是皇上就任命袁盎为太常，吴王兄弟的儿子德侯为宗正。袁盎整理行装出发。过后十多天，皇上派中尉召来晁错，诳骗他坐车巡视到东市。晁错穿着朝服被斩杀于东市。又派遣袁盎遵奉宗庙的旨意，宗正以亲戚的关系，让他们按照袁盎的计策通告吴王。等到了吴王那里，吴国、楚国的军队已经攻到梁军的营垒了。宗正由于亲戚的缘



"What I have to say is for Your Majesty's ears alone," said Yuan Ang.

Then the emperor dismissed Chao Cuo, who retired to the east chamber in a rage.

Asked his opinion again, Yuan Ang replied, "This letter from the princes of Wu and Chu says that all Emperor Gaozu's sons and younger brothers had fiefs until the traitor Chao Cuo accused them falsely and seized their territory. They claim that they have risen in revolt to march west and punish Chao Cuo, and that once their lands are restored they will call a halt. So the best plan now would be to execute Chao Cuo and send envoys to pardon the seven princes, returning the provinces which were taken from them. Then their troops will be called off without any bloodshed."

The emperor was silent for some time. "If that is true," he said, "I should not grudge sacrificing a single man for the sake of the whole empire."

"Dull as I am, I have no better plan," said Yuan Ang. "I hope you will consider it carefully."

The emperor appointed Yuan Ang as officer in charge of sacrifices, and Marquis De, the son of the prince of Wu's younger brother, as officer of the imperial clan. Yuan Ang made ready to see out on a journey. After more than ten days, the emperor ordered the military commander of the capital to summon Chao Cuo; but instead of being driven to the palace he was taken to the east market. There he was executed still wearing his court robes. Then Yuan Ang as the warden of the ancestral temples and the officer of the imperial clan with orders for the imperial kinsmen were dispatched to the prince of Wu in accordance with Yuan Ang's plan.

When they reached Wu, the troops of Wu and Chu were attacking the ramparts of Liang. Marquis De, as a kinsman, was received first by

### 【原文】

拜受诏。吴王闻袁盎来，亦知其欲说己，笑而应曰：“我已为东帝，尚何谁拜？”不肯见盎而留之军中，欲劫使将。盎不肯，使人围守，且杀之，盎得夜出，步亡去，走梁军，遂归报。

条侯将乘六乘传，会兵荥阳。至洛阳，见剧孟，喜曰：“七国反，吾乘传至此，不自意全。又以为诸侯已得剧孟，剧孟今无动。吾据荥阳，以东无足忧者。”至淮阳，问父绛侯故客邓都尉曰：“策安出？”客曰：“吴兵锐甚，难与争锋。楚兵轻，不能久。方今为将军计，莫若引兵东北壁昌邑，以梁委吴，吴必尽锐攻之。将军深沟高垒，使轻兵绝淮泗口，塞吴饷道。彼吴梁相敝

### 【今译】

故，先进去拜见了，告知吴王让他拜受皇帝诏书。吴王闻听袁盎到来，也知道他要来游说自己，笑着回答说：“我已经做了东方的皇帝，还要向谁下拜呢？”不肯接见袁盎，把他扣留在军营中，想要胁迫他做将军。袁盎不肯，吴王就派人围着看守他，要杀掉他，袁盎找机会在夜里出了军营，步行逃离，奔到梁军中，便回朝报告了。

条侯率领六辆传车，要会师荥阳。到达洛阳，见到剧孟，高兴地说：“七国反叛，我乘坐传车到这里，没有料到自己会保全下来。又以为诸侯已经得到了剧孟，剧孟如今没有异常举动。我据守荥阳，以东的地方没有值得忧虑的了。”到了淮阳，问父亲绛侯原来的门客邓都尉道：“对策该怎么出？”门客说：“吴国军队非常精锐，很难和它争斗。楚国军队轻躁，不能够持久。如今为将军筹划，不如带领军队向东北驻扎在昌邑，把梁地丢给吴国，吴军一定会尽其精锐力量攻打它。将军挖好深沟，筑起高高的堡垒，派遣轻装部队断绝淮、泗的河流入口，堵塞吴军的运粮通



the prince of Wu. He told him the emperor's decision and ordered him to bow to receive the imperial decree.

But the prince of Wu, who knew that Yuan Ang had also come to persuade him, laughed and replied, "I am already the emperor of the east. Why should I bow to anyone's decree?" He refused to see Yuan Ang, but detained him in his camp and tried to force him to become his general. When Yuan Ang refused, the king had him surrounded and watched, meaning to kill him. But Yuan Ang contrived to slip out by night and escape on foot to the army of Liang, after which he went back to report to the emperor.

The marquis of Tiao, driving swiftly by six stages to the garrison at Xingyang, was delighted to meet Ju Meng at Luoyang. "When the seven princes revolted, I hurried here by relay carriages, not expecting this place to have held out," he said. "I feared the feudal lords had got hold of you, but I find you have not moved. With Xingyang in my hands, we have nothing to fear from the east."

He proceeded to Huaiyang and asked an army tribune named Teng, a former protégé of his father, the marquis of Jiang, what strategy he advised.

"The army of Wu has a striking force hard to resist, that of Chu is lightly equipped with small staying power," said Teng. "Your best plan is to lead your men northeast to defend Changyi, abandoning Liang to Wu, for then the prince of Wu is bound to attack it with all his might. Meanwhile from behind deep trenches and high ramparts, you can send a light detachment to block the junction of the Huai and Si Rivers, cutting Wu's supply route. When the forces of Wu and Liang have



### 【原文】

而粮食竭，乃以全强制其罢极，破吴必矣。”条侯曰：“善。”从其策，遂坚壁昌邑南，轻兵绝吴饷道。

吴王之初发也，吴臣田禄伯为大将军。田禄伯曰：“兵屯聚而西，无它奇道，难以就功。臣愿得五万人，别循江淮而上，收淮南、长沙，入武关，与大王会，此亦一奇也。”吴王太子谏曰：“王以反为名，此兵难以藉人，藉人亦且反王，奈何？且擅兵而别，多它利害，未可知也，徒自损耳。”吴王即不许田禄伯。

吴少将桓将军说王曰：“吴多步兵，步兵利险；汉多车骑，车骑利平地。愿大王所过城邑不下，直弃去，疾西据洛阳武库，食敖

### 【今译】

道。他们吴军和梁军相互削弱，粮食枯竭，然后就用全面的强势对付极度的疲弱态势，击破吴军是必然的了。”条侯说：“好。”听从了他的计策，便在昌邑南面坚守驻扎，派轻装部队断绝吴军的运粮通道。

吴王刚发兵时，吴国的大臣田禄伯担任大将军。田禄伯说：“军队聚集向西进发，没有其它出奇制胜之道，很难获得成功。我希望能得到五万人，另外沿着长江、淮河而上，收服淮南、长沙，进入武关，和大王您会师，这也是一条奇计。”吴王的太子劝谏道：“父王以反叛为名义，这样的军队难以倚靠旁人，倚靠旁人也可能会反叛父王，怎么办？况且专领军队另外行动，会有许多其它的害处，不可以预知，白白损耗自己罢了。”吴王便没有答应田禄伯。

吴国年少的将领桓将军劝说吴王道：“吴国多步兵，步兵在险要的地方作战有利；汉军多战车、骑兵，战车、骑兵在平坦的地方作战有利。希望大王对于所经过的城邑不去攻下它，径直抛开



worn each other out and the rebels' grain is finished, you can attack the exhausted enemy in full strength and Wu's defeat is certain."

"Very good," said the marquis of Tiao and adopted this plan, building strong defences south of Changyi and sending a light detachment to cut Wu's supply route.

When the prince of Wu rose in revolt he appointed his minister Tian Lubo as grand marshal. "If we advance west with our whole body of troops without making any surprise attacks, it will be hard to succeed," said Tian Lubo. "Let me lead fifty thousand men along the Yangtse and Huai Rivers to conquer Huainan and Changsha, and then proceed through the Wu Pass to rejoin your forces. Then we could take the enemy by surprise."

The prince of Wu's son objected, however, saying, "Now that you have revolted openly, sir, it would be unwise to entrust your troops to others lest they in turn rise against you. Besides, when a man goes off at the head of troops, all sorts of things, either good or bad, may happen. Meanwhile our strength would be weakened." So the prince of Wu rejected Tian Lubo's plan.

A young general of Wu named Huan advised the prince, saying, "Our army is mainly infantry, well suited to mountainous terrain, while the army of Han with all its war chariots and cavalry fights better on the plain. I suggest that when cities on the way prove hard to take, we simply abandon the attack and march swiftly west to seize the arsenals of Luoyang and feed our men with grain from Aocang, blocking the



### 【原文】

仓粟，阻山河之险以令诸侯，虽毋入关，天下固已定矣。即大王徐行，留下城邑，汉军车骑至，驰入梁楚之郊，事败矣。”吴王问诸老将，老将曰：“此少年推锋之计可耳，安知大虑乎！”于是王不用桓将军计。

吴王专并将其兵，未度淮，诸宾客皆得为将、校尉、候、司马，独周丘不得用。周丘者，下邳人，亡命吴，酤酒无行，吴王濞薄之，弗任。周丘上谒，说王曰：“臣以无能，不得待罪行间。臣非敢求有所将，愿得王一汉节，必有以报王。”王乃予之。周丘得节，夜驰入下邳。下邳时闻吴反，皆城守。至传舍，召令。令人

### 【今译】

离去，迅速向西占据洛阳的武器库，取用敖仓的粮食，倚仗山岭、黄河的险要来号令诸侯，即使不去进入关内，天下本就已经平定了。如果大王缓慢前进，耽搁下来攻取城邑，汉军的战车、骑兵赶到，奔驰进梁国、楚国的郊野平地，事情就失败了。”吴王向老将们询问这事，老将说：“这要是少年冲锋的计策还可以，可他哪里懂得大的计谋呢！”这样吴王就没有采用桓将军的计策。

吴王专断地集中统率他的军队，还没有渡过淮河，各位宾客都得以担任将军、校尉、候、司马，惟独周丘没有得到任用。周丘是下邳人，逃亡到了吴国，卖酒没有德行，吴王刘濞轻视他，不任用他。周丘进见，劝说吴王道：“我因为没有才能，不能够在行伍间任职。我不敢请求率领军队，希望得到大王一个汉朝使节，一定有可以来报效大王的。”吴王就给了他。周丘得到使节，连夜骑马奔进下邳。下邳当时听说吴国反叛，都据城坚守。周丘到了驿站住所，召见县令。县令进了门，他指使跟从的人按



mountain passes by the river while you command the other princes. Then you will have the empire in your hands without even entering the Pass. But if you advance slowly, stopping to take cities, the war chariots and cavalry of Han will charge across the plains of Chu and Liang, and all will be lost."

The prince consulted older generals, who said, "This is the hare-brained scheme of a young man who does not think seriously." So the prince did not take General Huan's advice.

The prince of Wu took command of all his forces. Before crossing the River Huai he made all his protégés except Zhou Qiu generals, colonels, captains and provincial governors. Zhou Qiu was a native of Xiapi who had gone to Wu as a fugitive from justice and was often drunk and disorderly. Hence the prince of Wu thought little of him and gave him no post.

Zhou Qiu asked to see the prince and said, "I am not able enough to serve in this campaign and would not presume to ask for a command; but if you will give me one of the credentials used by the Han envoys, I swear to repay the gratitude I owe you."

The prince gave him the credential and Zhou Qiu rode off that same night to Xiapi. News of the revolt had reached Xiapi and its cities were being defended. He went to the government hostel and summoned the magistrate. As soon as the magistrate arrived, he charged him with some crime and ordered his followers to kill him.

### 【原文】

户，使从者以罪斩令。遂召昆弟所善豪吏告曰：“吴反兵且至，至，屠下邳不过食顷。今先下，家室必完，能者封侯矣。”出乃相告，下邳皆下。周丘一夜得三万人，使人报吴王，遂将其兵北略城邑。比至城阳，兵十余万，破城阳中尉军。闻吴王败走，自度无与共成功，即引兵归下邳。未至，疽发背死。

二月中，吴王兵既破，败走，于是天子制诏将军曰：“盖闻为善者，天报之以福；为非者，天报之以殃。高皇帝亲表功德，建立诸侯，幽王、悼惠王绝无后，孝文皇帝哀怜加惠，王幽王子遂、悼惠王子卬等，令奉其先王宗庙，为汉藩国，德配天地，明

### 【今译】

罪斩杀县令。便召见他的兄弟所要好的大官吏警告说：“吴国反叛的军队就要到了，一到，屠杀下邳的人不过吃顿饭的时间。如今先投降，家庭一定能保全，有才能的人可以封侯了。”他们出去就相互转告，下邳都投降了。周丘在一夜之间得到了三万人，派人去禀报吴王，便率领他的军队向北夺取城邑。等到达城阳，军队达十余万人，击破城阳中尉的军队。闻听吴王战败逃跑，自己揣度没有人和他共同取得成功，就带着军队回下邳去。还没到，他背上生疽死去了。

二月中，吴王的军队已被击破，战败逃跑，这时天子发布制书诏令将军说：“听说做善事的人，上天要赐福来报应他；做坏事的，上天要用灾祸报应他。高皇帝亲自表彰功德，建立诸侯国，幽王、悼惠王没有后代继承王位，孝文皇帝哀痛怜惜他们，施加恩惠，赐封幽王的儿子刘遂、悼惠王的儿子刘印等人为王，让他们奉祀他们先王的宗庙，成为汉朝的属国，恩德足以和天地匹

Then Zhou Qiu sent for his brothers and the chief officers whom he knew, and told them, "The rebel troops of Wu are on their way here and, once they arrive, they will butcher the people of Xiapi in the time it takes for a meal. By surrendering now, you can save your families and men of ability will be ennobled." These men went to spread the word, and Xiapi surrendered.

In one night Zhou Qiu had won over thirty thousand men. Sending a messenger to report this to the prince, he led his troops north to conquer other cities. By the time he reached Chengyang he had over a hundred thousand men and with these he routed the army of the commander of Chengyang. Then word came that the prince of Wu had been defeated and fled and, knowing that he could not go on alone, Zhou Qiu led his troops back towards Xiapi. Before he reached it, however, an ulcer developed on his back and he died.

In the middle of the second month, when the prince of Wu's army was routed and put to flight, the emperor issued this order to his generals:

We have heard that Heaven blesses those who do good but visits calamity upon wrong-doers. Emperor Gaozu himself honoured achievement and virtue and set up the princes. When Prince You and Prince Daohui had no heirs, Emperor Wu took pity on them and made Prince You's son Sui and Prince Daohui's son Ang princes, so that they might care for their ancestral temples as the vassals of Han. He was as virtuous as heaven and earth, and as discerning as the sun and moon.

### 【原文】

并日月。吴王濞倍德反义，诱受天下亡命罪人，乱天下币，称病不朝二十余年，有司数请濞罪，孝文皇帝宽之，欲其改行为善。今乃与楚王戊、赵王遂、胶西王卬、济南王辟光、菑川王贤、胶东王雄渠约从反，为逆无道，起兵以危宗庙，贼杀大臣及汉使者，迫劫万民，夭杀无罪，烧残民家，掘其丘冢，甚为暴虐。今卬等又重逆无道，烧宗庙，卤御物，朕甚痛之。朕素服避正殿，将军其劝士大夫击反虏。击反虏者，深入多杀为功，斩首捕虏比三百石以上者皆杀之，无有所置。敢有议诏及不如诏者，皆要斩。”

初，吴王之度淮，与楚王遂西败棘壁，乘胜前，锐甚。梁孝王

### 【今译】

配，光明足以和日月并列。吴王刘濞违背恩德，反叛道义，引诱收容天下逃亡的罪人，搅乱天下的币制，声称有病不来朝见有二十多年，主管官吏屡次请求给刘濞治罪，孝文皇帝宽恕了他，想要他改正行为做善事。如今他却和楚王刘戊、赵王刘遂、胶西王刘印、济南王刘辟光、菑川王刘贤、胶东王刘雄渠约定一起反叛，大逆不道，发兵来危害宗庙，残杀大臣以及汉朝使者，强迫、胁持广大百姓，摧残、杀害无罪的人，烧毁民宅，发掘他们的坟墓，非常残暴肆虐。如今刘印等人又更加大逆不道，焚烧先王的宗庙，抢掠宗庙的器物，朕非常痛恨。朕身着素衣避开正殿，将军要劝勉士大夫们攻击反叛的贼人。攻击反叛贼人的，进军深入、杀敌众多的算作功劳，斩杀敌人首级，抓到相当于三百石级以上的反贼都要杀掉，不要释放。胆敢有议论诏书以及不遵照诏书的人，都要腰斩。”

当初，吴王渡过淮河，就和楚王向西击败棘壁的军队，乘胜前进，非常凌厉。梁孝王恐惧，派遣六位将军攻击吴军，吴军又



But Liu Bi, the prince of Wu, flouted virtue and justice by attracting fugitives and evil-doers from all parts of the empire, debasing the currency and, on the pretext of illness, absenting himself from court for more than twenty years. The authorities urged more than once that he should be punished, but Emperor Wen pardoned him, hoping that he would mend his ways and do what was right. Now he has rebelled with Prince Wu of Chu, Prince Sui of Zhao, Prince Ang of Jiaoxi, Prince Piguang of Jinan, Prince Xian of Zichuan and Prince Xiongqu of Jiaodong, lawlessly plotting treason. He has raised arms to endanger the imperial house, killed ministers and Han envoys, oppressed the people, murdered the innocent, burned and destroyed men's houses, razed their graves and resorted to violence of every description. Ang and others have committed yet more heinous crimes, burning the ancestral temples and looting the ceremonial costumes and vessels. We are deeply grieved. Dressed in plain clothes we have withdrawn from the main court while our generals urge their officers to attack these rebels. Those who strike deep into rebel territory and kill or capture many foes will be performing meritorious services. As for the captives, all rebel officers above the three hundred piculs rank must be put to death without mercy. Any man who dares to question this decree or fails to carry it out shall be cut in two at the waist.

When the prince of Wu had first crossed the River Huai, he stormed Jibi in the west with the prince of Chu and, flushed with victory, their army swept irresistibly forward, so that Prince Xiao of Liang was afraid. He sent six generals out to intercept them, but two of these were de-



### 【原文】

恐，遣六将军击吴，又败梁两将，士卒皆还走梁。梁数使使报条侯求救，条侯不许。又使使恶条侯于上，上使人告条侯救梁，复守便宜不行。梁使韩安国及楚死事相弟张羽为将军，乃得颇败吴兵。吴兵欲西，梁城守坚，不敢西，即走条侯军，会下邑。欲战，条侯壁，不肯战。吴粮绝，卒饥，数挑战，遂夜奔条侯壁，惊东南。条侯使备西北，果从西北入。吴大败，士卒多饥死，乃畔散。于是吴王乃与其麾下壮士数千人夜亡去，度江走丹徒，保东越。东越兵可万余人，乃使人收聚亡卒。汉使人以利啖东越，东越即给吴王，吴王出劳军，即使人纵杀吴王，盛其头，驰传以

### 【今译】

打败梁军两位将军，士兵们都逃回了梁国。梁国屡次派使者通报条侯请求援救，条侯没有应允。又派使者到皇上那里说条侯的坏话，皇上派人告知条侯去援救梁国，条侯又恪守便宜行事的特权不予执行。梁国派韩安国和楚国为国事而死的丞相的弟弟张羽担任将军，才得以稍稍挫败了吴国军队。吴军想要西进，梁军城邑防守坚固，吴军不敢西进，就直趋条侯的军队，相遇在下邑。想要交战，条侯坚守，不肯迎战。吴军粮食断绝，士兵饥饿，屡次挑战，便夜间突袭条侯营寨，在东南方向惊扰。条侯下令防备西北方，吴军果然从西北方冲入。吴军大败，士兵有很多饿死了，于是叛离逃散了。这时吴王就和他部下的强壮士卒数千人连夜逃走，渡过长江跑到丹徒，据守东越。东越的军队大约有一万多人，吴王就派人收罗集聚逃跑的士兵。汉朝派人用好处引诱东越，东越就诳骗吴王，吴王出外慰劳军队，便派人用戟刺杀了吴王，装着他的头，乘驰传快车去报知汉朝。吴王的儿子刘子华、



feated and their men fled back to Liang. The prince of Liang sent envoys to the marquis of Tiao with repeated requests for help, but the marquis made no response. Finally the prince sent an envoy to condemn the marquis to the emperor, who ordered him to go to the aid of Liang. Still the marquis, acting on expediency, did not dispatch his forces. The prince of Liang gave the command to Han Anguo and Zhang Yu, the younger brother of the minister of Chu who died after remonstrating with his prince, and they inflicted several defeats on Wu.

The troops of Wu wanted to proceed west, but in face of Liang's stubborn resistance they dared not do so. Instead they marched against the marquis of Tiao at Xiayi, but his army remained behind the ramparts and would not give battle, till Wu's supplies ran out and its men were hungry. They challenged the enemy time and again and one night made a feint of attacking from the southeast. The marquis promptly prepared for an attack on the northwest, and when the Wu troops did attack from that direction they were routed. Many of them died of starvation, others mutinied and scattered.

The prince of Wu with a few thousand of his best fighters escaped at night and crossed the Yangtse River, fleeing to Dantu in the land of Dongyue. Dongyue had more than ten thousand troops, and he meant to rally his scattered forces there. But the court sent envoys with gifts to persuade the chieftain of Dongyue to trick the prince of Wu. When he came out to review his troops, spearmen set on him and killed him. His head was put in a casket and sent by post carriage to court. His two

## 【原文】

闻。吴王子子华、子驹亡走闽越。吴王之弃其军亡也，军遂溃，往往稍降太尉、梁军。楚王戊军败，自杀。

三王之围齐临菑也，三月不能下。汉兵至，胶西、胶东、菑川王各引兵归。胶西王乃袒跣，席藁，饮水，谢太后。王太子德曰：“汉兵远，臣观之已罢，可袭，愿收大王余兵击之，击之不胜，乃逃入海，未晚也。”王曰：“吾士卒皆已坏，不可发用。”弗听。汉将弓高侯韩当遗王书曰：“奉诏诛不义，降者赦其罪，复故；不降者灭之。王何处，须以从事。”王肉袒叩头汉军壁，谒曰：“臣卬奉法不谨，惊骇百姓，乃苦将军远道至于穷国，敢请菹醢之罪。”弓高侯执金鼓见之，曰：“王苦军事，愿闻王发兵

## 【今译】

刘子驹逃跑到闽越。吴王抛弃他的军队逃跑后，军队便溃散了，大多投降了太尉及梁军。楚王刘戊的军队战败，他自杀了。

三个国包围攻齐国临菑，三个月没能攻下。汉军到了，胶西王、胶东王、菑川王各自带领军队回去了。胶西王就脱去上衣和鞋子，坐卧在草席上，喝着水，向太后谢罪。胶西王的太子刘德说：“汉军远道而来，我看他们已经疲惫了，可以突袭，我愿意收集大王的残余军队去攻击他们，攻击他们没有取胜，再逃到海上去，还不算晚。”胶西王说：“我的士兵都已经衰颓，不能发动他们战斗。”没有听从他的话。汉军将领弓高侯韩当给胶西王书信说：“奉诏书诛杀不义之人，投降的人赦免他的罪责，恢复原来的职位；不投降的人就消灭他。大王如何打算，要看你的反应才好行事。”胶西王脱去上衣到汉军营寨磕头，拜见说：“我刘卬遵从法律不严谨，惊扰了百姓，还烦劳将军远道而来了僻远小国，请求用剁成肉酱的刑罚治我的罪。”弓高侯列出金鼓仪仗来



sons, Zihua and Ziju, fled to Minyue. After the prince of Wu abandoned his army and fled, his men were dispersed and little by little surrendered to the prince of Liang and the grand marshal. The forces of Prince Wu of Chu were also defeated and he committed suicide.

The three princes of Jiaoxi, Jiaodong and Zichuan besieged Linzi in Qi for three months but failed to take it. When government reinforcements arrived, they withdrew to their own principalities.

The prince of Jiaoxi bared his left arm, sat on a straw mat and drank nothing but water to apologize to the queen dowager.

His son De said, "Han's army has come a long way and seems exhausted. Why not launch a surprise attack? Let me rally all our remaining troops to fight them. If we lose, we can still escape by way of the sea."

"My troops are too demoralized to be of any use," replied the prince and he ignored this proposal.

Han Tuidang, the marquis of Gonggao and a Han general, sent this letter to the prince: "The emperor has ordered me to punish malefactors. Those who submit will be pardoned and their rank restored; those who refuse to surrender will be destroyed. What does Your Highness intend to do? I am waiting for your decision."

The prince bared his left arm and kowtowed before the Han ramparts to beg for an interview. "I have been remiss in observing the law and alarmed the people, putting you to the trouble of coming all this way to my poor principality," he said. "I beg to be punished by being cut into small pieces."

The marquis, holding a drum and gong, received him. "Your High-

### 【原文】

状。”王顿首膝行对曰：“今者，晁错天子用事臣，变更高皇帝法令，侵夺诸侯地。卬等以为不义，恐其败乱天下，七国发兵，且以诛错。今闻错已诛，卬等谨以罢兵归。”将军曰：“王苟以错不善，何不以闻？乃未有诏虎符，擅发兵击义国。以此观之，意非欲诛错也。”乃出诏书为王读之。读之讫，曰：“王其自图。”王曰：“如卬等死有余罪。”遂自杀。太后、太子皆死。胶东、菑川、济南王皆死，国除，纳于汉。郦将军围赵十月而下之，赵王自杀。济北王以劫故，得不诛，徙王菑川。

初，吴王首反，并将楚兵，连齐赵。正月起兵，三月皆破，

### 【今译】

接见他，说道：“大王为战斗的事情受苦了，希望听听大王发动军队的情由。”胶西王磕头，用膝盖走路回答说：“当今，晁错是天子的当权大臣，改变高皇帝的法令，侵占削夺诸侯国的封地。我们认为这不讲道义，惟恐他败坏扰乱天下，七国发动军队，要来诛杀晁错。如今听说晁错已被诛杀，我们谨慎地撤军回去了。”韩将军说：“大王如果认为晁错不好，为什么不上奏天子？而竟然没有诏令和虎符，擅自发动军队攻击仁义的国家。从这点看来，用意不是想要诛杀晁错。”于是拿出诏书给胶西王宣读。读完了诏书，说：“大王要自己考虑。”胶西王说：“像我刘卬这等人，死有余辜。”于是就自杀了。太后、太子都死了。胶东王、菑川王、济南王全都死了，封国废除，归入了汉朝。郦将军围攻赵国，十个月才攻下来，赵王自杀了。济北王因为被劫持的缘故，得以不被诛杀，迁徙到菑川去做国王。

起初，吴王首先反叛，一并统率楚国军队，联合齐国、赵国。正月时起兵，三月时都被击破，惟独赵国最后被攻下。汉朝



ness is averse to fighting," he said. "May I ask why you rose in arms?"

The prince bowed his head and, advancing on his knees, replied, "We thought it unjust that Chao Cuo, who was trusted by the emperor, should alter Emperor Gaozu's laws and seize the lands of the princes. We seven princes were afraid that he would destroy the empire, so we rose in arms to punish him. Now that we hear Chao Cuo has been executed, we have withdrawn our troops."

"If you thought that Chao Cuo was wrong, why did you not report it to the emperor?" the general asked. "Instead you mobilized troops with your tiger tally and attacked a loyal prince without the emperor's order. Judging by your actions, your aim was not to punish Chao Cuo." He took out the imperial decree, read it to the prince and said, "You must decide for yourself what action to take."

"Even death cannot atone for my crime," said the prince of Jiaoxi. He committed suicide, and so did the queen dowager and the crown prince.

The princes of Jiaodong, Zichuan and Jinan all took their own lives. Their principalities were abolished and came under central government jurisdiction.

After a siege of ten months, General Li took the capital of Zhao and the prince of Zhao committed suicide. Since the prince of Jibei had been forced by the other princes to join the revolt, his life was spared but he was removed to be the prince of Zichuan.

The prince of Wu had been the first to rebel, he had commanded the army of Chu as well as his own and had made the agreement with the princes of Qi and Zhao. The rebellion broke out in the first month, but by the third all rebel forces were suppressed except for those of

### 【原文】

独赵后下。复置元王少子平陆侯礼为楚王，续元王后。徙汝南王非王吴故地，为江都王。

太史公曰：吴王之王，由父省也。能薄赋敛，使其众，以擅山海利。逆乱之萌，自其子兴。争技发难，卒亡其本；亲越谋宗，竟以夷陨。晁错为国远虑，祸反近身。袁盎权说，初宠后辱。故古者诸侯地不过百里，山海不以封。“毋亲夷狄，以疏其属”，盖谓吴邪？“毋为权首，反受其咎”，岂盎、错邪？

### 【今译】

又立楚元王的小儿子平陆侯刘礼为楚王，接续元王的后代。迁徙汝南王刘非到吴国旧地做国王，称为江都王。

太史公说：吴王称王，是由于父亲降了爵位。他能够减轻赋税，指使他的百姓，是由于独占铜山、海盐的好处。反叛作乱的念头萌发，是从他儿子的事兴起的。他的儿子因竞争博戏的技艺而发生争斗，终于丢了性命；吴王亲近越人谋害亲族，最终因此毁灭。晁错为国家作长远的考虑，灾祸反而临近他自身。袁盎弄权善辩，起初受宠，后来受辱。因此古代诸侯的封地不超过一百里，高山大海不予分封。“不要亲近夷狄，以致疏远自己的亲属”，大概说的是吴王吧？“不要作主谋，否则要因此得到灾祸”，难道说的是袁盎、晁错吗？



Zhao, which were defeated later. Li, marquis of Pinglu and the youngest son of Prince Yuan of Chu, was made the king of Chu to carry on the royal line. Prince Fei of Runan was removed to rule over the former principality of Wu with the title of prince of Jiangdu.

The Grand Historian comments: The prince of Wu became prince as a result of his father's loss of territory. He succeeded in lowering taxes and winning the hearts of his people by his monopoly of copper and salt. His son's death was the root of his disaffection, and that quarrel over a game score ended in his utter ruin. He allied with the tribesmen of Yue against his own clan, and came to an evil end. Chao Cuo showed foresight in affairs of state but met with personal calamity. Yuan Ang was trusted thanks to his eloquence, but the favour he first enjoyed ended in disgrace. So we see why no feudal lord of old could have a fief exceeding a hundred *li* or possession of mountains and coastland. And it was said, "Do not make friends with the barbarians while keeping at a distance from kinsmen." This applies, surely, to the prince of Wu. "Do not try to rise above others, or you will suffer for it." This applies, does it not, to Chao Cuo and Yuan Ang?

<sup>1</sup> 200 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> 194-180 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> 179-157 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> 156 B.C.

<sup>5</sup> Present-day Zhejiang and Fujian in southeastern China.

## 【原文】

魏其侯窦婴者，孝文后从兄子也。父世观津人。喜宾客。孝文时，婴为吴相，病免。孝景初即位，为詹事。

梁孝王者，孝景弟也，其母窦太后爱之。梁孝王朝，因昆弟燕饮。是时上未立太子，酒酣，从容言曰：“千秋之后传梁王。”太后欢。窦婴引卮酒进上，曰：“天下者，高祖天下，父子相传，此汉之约也，上何以得擅传梁王！”太后由此憎窦婴。窦婴亦薄其官，因病免。太后除窦婴门籍，不得入朝请。

孝景三年，吴、楚反，上察宗室诸窦毋如窦婴贤，乃召婴。

## 【今译】

918

魏其侯窦婴，是孝文帝皇后的堂兄的儿子。他的父辈世代是观津人。他喜好宾客。孝文帝时，窦婴担任吴国丞相，后因病免职。孝景帝刚刚登上皇位时，他担任詹事。

梁孝王，是孝景帝的弟弟，他的母亲窦太后很疼爱他。梁孝王入朝进见，常以兄弟的身份参加便宴。当时皇上还没有立太子，有一次酒兴正浓时，皇上随便说道：“我百年之后把帝位传给梁王。”窦太后很高兴。窦婴拿过一卮酒进献皇上，说：“天下，是高祖的天下，帝位应该父子相传，这是汉朝的规定，皇上怎么能擅自传位给梁王！”窦太后因此憎恨窦婴。窦婴也将官职看得很轻，借口生病辞了职。太后也趁机开除了窦婴出入宫门的名籍，不准他参加春秋两季的朝会。

孝景帝三年（公元前182年），吴、楚反叛，皇上考察宗族和



## The Marquises of Weiqi and Wuan

Dou Ying, the marquis of Weiqi, was the son of a cousin of Empress Dou. Until his father's time his family had lived in Guanjin. He had many protégés.

In the reign of Emperor Wen, Dou Ying served as chief minister of Wu but had to give up this post because of illness. When Emperor Jing came to the throne, he served as steward in the household of the empress.

Prince Xiao of Liang was Emperor Jing's younger brother and the favourite of Empress Dowager Dou. When he came to court the emperor entertained him as a brother. Emperor Jing had not yet designated his heir and while drinking one day he remarked casually, "When I die I shall pass on the crown to the prince of Liang."

Empress Dowager Dou was delighted, but Dou Ying presented a cup of wine to the emperor, protesting, "The empire was won by Emperor Gaozu and the rule of the House of Han is that the throne must pass from father to son. How can you make the prince of Liang your heir, sir?"

Empress Dowager Dou hated Dou Ying for this, and since he did not think much of his post he retired on the pretext of illness. Then the empress dowager struck his name off the palace list so that he could no longer go to court.

When the princes of Wu and Chu rebelled in the third year of Emperor Jing,<sup>1</sup> the emperor sent for Dou Ying, having decided that he



### 【原文】

婴入见，固辞谢病不足任。太后亦慚。于是上曰：“天下方有急，王孙宁可以让邪？”乃拜婴为大将军，赐金千斤。婴乃言袁盎、栾布诸名将贤士在家者进之。所赐金，陈之廊庑下，军吏过，辄令财取为用，金无入家者。窦婴守荥阳，监齐、赵兵。七国兵已尽破，封婴为魏其侯。诸游士宾客争归魏其侯。孝景时，每朝议大事，条侯、魏其侯，诸列侯莫敢与亢礼。

孝景四年，立栗太子，使魏其侯为太子傅。孝景七年，栗太子废，魏其数争不能得。魏其谢病屏居蓝田南山之下数月，诸宾客辩士说之莫能来。梁人高遂乃说魏其曰：“能富贵将军者，上也；能

### 【今译】

窦家没有谁能像窦婴那样贤能，于是召见窦婴。窦婴进见，坚决推辞，称病不能胜任。窦太后也感到相当惭愧。于是皇上说：“天下正有危难，王孙怎么可以推辞呢？”于是任命窦婴为大将军，赐金千斤。窦婴趁机提到袁盎、栾布等各位闲住在家的名将和贤士，推荐他们。皇上赏赐的黄金，窦婴把它们都陈列在廊堂下，军中小官吏经过，就让他们酌量取用，一点黄金也没有收进家里。窦婴守荥阳，监视齐、赵的军队。七国的叛军全部被击败以后，封窦婴为魏其侯。许多游士宾客争相归附魏其侯。孝景帝时每次朝廷讨论国家大事，条侯、魏其侯最为重要，各列侯没有谁敢和条侯、魏其侯争论抗衡。

孝景帝四年（公元前181年），立栗太子，让魏其侯为太子傅。孝景帝七年，栗太子被废，魏其侯屡次劝谏都没有效果。于是魏其侯称病，隐居在蓝田南山下有好几个月，许多宾客辩士去劝说他，都没有能够让他回到朝廷中来。梁人高遂于是去劝说魏其侯道：“能使将军富贵的，是皇上；能使将军成为朝廷亲信的，



was abler than anyone else in the imperial house or the Dou family. Dou Ying came to the palace, to the embarrassment of the empress dowager, but insisted that he was too ill to take up a command.

"At a time of crisis how can you refuse?" demanded the emperor. He made Dou Ying grand marshal and presented him with a thousand catties of gold. Then Dou Ying recommended Yuan Ang, Luan Bu and other good army officers or scholars who were living in retirement. He stacked the gold in his corridor and gatehouse so that officers who needed it could help themselves. None of it went to his own family.

Dou Ying defended Xingyang and kept a watch over the forces of Qi and Zhao. After the suppression of the revolt he was enfeoffed as marquis of Weiqi. Then wandering scholars and protégés flocked to him eagerly to offer their services. During the reign of Emperor Jing, no other nobles dared claim equality with the marquis of Tiao and the marquis of Weiqi in any important deliberations at court.

In the fourth year of Emperor Jing, his son by Lady Li was made crown prince and Dou Ying was appointed as his tutor. In the seventh year the crown prince was deposed although Dou Ying interceded for him several times. Pleading illness he retired for several months to Lantian in the south hills, nor could any of his orators or protégés prevail on him to return.

Then Gao Sui of Liang reasoned with him saying, "The emperor has conferred rank and wealth on you, the empress dowager has be-

### 【原文】

亲将军者，太后也。今将军傅太子，太子废而不能争；争不能得，又弗能死。自引谢病，拥赵女，屏闲处而不朝。相提而论，是自明扬主上之过。有如两宫螫将军，则妻子毋类矣。”魏其侯然之，乃遂起，朝请如故。

桃侯免相，窦太后数言魏其侯。孝景帝曰：“太后岂以为臣有爱，不相魏其？魏其者，沾沾自喜耳，多易。难以为相，持重。”遂不用，用建陵侯卫绾为丞相。

武安侯田蚡者，孝景后同母弟也，生长陵。魏其已为大将军，后方盛，蚡为诸郎，未贵，往来侍酒魏其，跪起如子姓。及孝景晚

### 【今译】

是太后。如今将军做太子的师傅，太子被废却不能去诤谏；诤谏不能奏效，又不能效死。自己称病引退，拥抱着赵国选来的美女，隐避闲居而不去参加朝会。把前后这些事情合到一起来说，这是您自己表明要张扬主上的过错。如果皇上和太后都恼恨将军，那么您的妻子儿女就都将被诛灭无存了。”魏其侯认为他说得对，于是就复出，像原来一样参加朝见。

桃侯被免去丞相职务，窦太后多次推荐魏其侯。孝景帝说：“太后难道以为我有所吝惜，而不让魏其侯为相吗？魏其侯这个人，老是沾沾自喜，经常有轻率之举。很难任用他为丞相，担当重任。”于是不用他，而任用建陵侯卫绾为丞相。

武安侯田蚡，是孝景帝皇后的同母兄弟，出生在长陵。魏其侯已经担任大将军之后，正当显赫之时，田蚡担任郎官，没有显贵，往来魏其侯府中，侍奉魏其侯饮酒，跪拜侍立就像儿孙一样。到孝景帝晚年的时候，田蚡日益显贵，受到宠爱，担任了太



friended you. You were the crown prince's tutor, yet you failed to prevent his being deposed and failed to die for him. You simply retired here on the pretext of illness to fondle beauties from Zhao and voice opinions at variance with those of the court. This means you are casting aspersions on your sovereign. Should the emperor and empress dowager turn against you, your whole family must perish."

Convinced by this argument Dou Ying went back and started attending court as before.

When the marquis of Tao was dismissed from his post as prime minister, Empress Dowager Dou several times recommended Dou Ying.

"Don't think, madam, that I begrudge him the post," said the emperor. "But Dou Ying has too good an opinion of himself and takes life too easily. He is not fit for a responsible post like that of prime minister." He appointed Wei Wan the marquis of Jianling instead.

Tian Fen, the marquis of Wuan and younger brother of Empress Wang, was born in Changling. When Dou Ying was grand marshal and at the height of his power, Tian Fen was still a palace guard, not yet ennobled. He used to go to Dou Ying's house and wait on him as a cup-bearer as humbly as his son. Towards the end of Emperor Jing's reign, however, Tian Fen had risen to become grand counsellor.



## 【原文】

节，蚡益贵幸，为太中大夫。蚡辩有口，学《槃盂》诸书，王太后贤之。孝景崩，即日太子立，称制，所镇抚多有田蚡宾客计策。蚡弟田胜，皆以太后弟，孝景后三年封蚡为武安侯，胜为周阳侯。

武安侯新欲用事为相，卑下宾客，进名士家居者贵之，欲以倾魏其诸将相。建元元年，丞相卫绾病免，上议置丞相、太尉。籍福说武安侯曰：“魏其贵久矣，天下士素归之。今将军初兴，未如魏其，即上以将军为丞相，必让魏其。魏其为丞相，将军必为太尉。太尉、丞相尊等耳，又有让贤名。”武安侯乃微言太后风上，于是乃以魏其侯为丞相，武安侯为太尉。籍福贺魏其侯，因吊曰：“君

## 【今译】

中大夫。田蚡善言辞，有口才，学习了《槃盂》等各种书籍，王太后认为他贤能。孝景帝驾崩，当天太子登位，王太后摄政，她用来镇压、安抚百姓的措施大多采用田蚡和宾客们的计策。田蚡和他的弟弟田胜，都因是王太后的弟弟，孝景帝后元三年(公元前141年)，田蚡被封为武安侯，田胜被封为周阳侯。

武安侯新近想掌权做丞相，对待宾客很谦卑，推荐闲住在家里的名士，让他们显贵，想要用这种方法来压倒魏其侯等各位文武大臣。建元元年(公元前140年)，丞相卫绾因病免职，皇上建议任命丞相、太尉。籍福劝说武安侯道：“魏其侯显贵已经很久了，天下的士人一向归附于他。如今将军刚刚发迹，不如魏其侯，即使皇上让您做丞相，您也一定要让位给魏其侯。魏其侯做丞相，那么您一定会任太尉。太尉、丞相是一样的尊贵，您又有让位给贤者的美名。”武安侯便委婉地告诉皇后暗示皇上，这样就任用了魏其侯为丞相，武安侯为太尉。籍福去向魏其侯道贺，



Tian Fen was eloquent, he had studied the ancient precepts inscribed on bronze vessels, and his sister, Empress Wang thought highly of him. The day that Emperor Jing died, the crown prince ascended the throne with the empress dowager as regent, and many of the security measures she took were proposed by Tian Fen's followers. Because they were the empress dowager's brothers, Tian Fen and his younger brother Tian Sheng were enfeoffed in the last year of Emperor Jing's reign as the marquises of Wuan and Zhouyang.

Since Tian Fen wanted to take power and become prime minister he was good to his guests and honoured noted scholars living in retirement, hoping in this way to undermine Dou Ying and his powerful party.

In the first year of the *Jiayuan* period,<sup>2</sup> the prime minister Wei Wan was relieved of his duties because of ill health and Emperor Wu consulted his ministers about the appointment of a new prime minister and grand marshal.

Ji Fu advised Tian Fen, saying, "Dou Ying has been prominent for a long time and worthy men from all over the land have flocked to him. Since you have just come to power and are not as influential as Dou Ying, if the emperor offers to make you prime minister you should decline in favour of Dou Ying. If he becomes prime minister you are sure to be made grand marshal. These two posts rank equal. And you will win praise for your modesty and wisdom."

Tian Fen proposed this to the empress dowager, asking her to suggest it to the emperor. Then Dou Ying was made prime minister and Tian Fen grand marshal.

When Ji Fu congratulated Dou Ying he warned him, "I know, sir,



### 【原文】

侯资性喜善疾恶，方今善人誉君侯，故至丞相；然君侯且疾恶，恶人众，亦且毁君侯。君侯能兼容，则幸久；不能，今以毁去矣。”魏其不听。

魏其、武安俱好儒术，推轂赵绾为御史大夫，王臧为郎中令。迎鲁申公，欲设明堂，令列侯就国，除关，以礼为服制，以兴太平。举適诸窦宗室毋节行者，除其属籍。时诸外家为列侯，列侯多尚公主，皆不欲就国，以故毁日至窦太后。太后好黄、老之言，而魏其、武安、赵绾、王臧等务隆推儒术，贬道家言，是以窦太后滋不说魏其等。及建元二年，御史大夫赵绾请无奏事东宫。窦太后

### 【今译】

又劝诫道：“君侯您本性喜欢好人厌恶坏人，如今好人称赞您，因而您做到了丞相；可是您也厌恶坏人，坏人多，他们就会毁谤您。您如果能够善恶兼容，就能好运长久；如果不能，马上就会由于毁谤而失势。”魏其侯却听不进他的话。

魏其侯、武安侯都爱好儒家学术，推荐赵绾任御史大夫，王臧任郎中令。他们迎来鲁申公，想设立明堂，命令各诸侯到封国去，废除关禁，按照古礼制定服饰制度，用这些措施来实现太平政治。检举、谴责窦氏诸人及皇族中没有品德的人，开除他们的族籍。当时各外戚都是列侯，列侯中很多人娶了公主，都不想到封国去，因此对魏其侯、武安侯的毁谤每天都传到窦太后那里。窦太后喜欢黄老之道，而魏其侯、武安侯、赵绾、王臧等人则坚决推崇儒家学术，贬低道家学说，因此窦太后更加不喜欢魏其侯等人。到建元二年(公元前139年)，御史大夫赵绾请求皇上不要把政事报告东宫。窦太后大怒，于是罢免放逐了赵绾、王臧等



that you naturally appreciate good men and hate evil men. Now thanks to the praise of good men you have become prime minister. But because you hate evil men and they are many, they are bound to attack you. The more tolerance you can show, the longer you will enjoy your present position. Otherwise their slander will lead to your dismissal."

But Dou Ying ignored his advice.

Both Dou Ying and Tian Fen admired the teachings of Confucius. Hence they recommended Zhao Wan for the post of chief counsellor and Wang Zang for that of chief of the palace guard. They invited Master Shen of Lu to the capital and wanted to set up an Audience Hall, send the marquises back to their fiefs, abolish travel restrictions, change the funeral customs to accord with the ancient practice, and bring about a reign of peace. They denounced the members of the imperial clan and kinsmen of Empress Dowager Dou who were guilty of immoral conduct and had their names struck off the list of nobles.

At that time most of the men of the Dou family had become marquises and married imperial princesses, and none of them wanted to return to their territories. So every day they slandered these two ministers to Empress Dowager Dou. And because she liked the teachings of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi, while Dou Ying, Tian Fen, Zhao Wan and Wang Zang wanted to propagate Confucianism and suppress Taoism, her dislike for these men increased.

In the second year of the *Jianyuan* period, the grand secretary Zhao Wan proposed that memoranda and reports should not be submitted to Empress Dowager Dou. In a great rage she dismissed him and



## 【原文】

大怒，乃罢逐赵绾、王臧等，而免丞相、太尉，以柏至侯许昌为丞相，武强侯庄青翟为御史大夫。魏其、武安由此以侯家居。

武安侯虽不任职，以王太后故，亲幸，数言事多效，天下吏士趋事利者，皆去魏其归武安。武安日益横。建元六年，窦太后崩，丞相昌、御史大夫青翟坐丧事不办，免。以武安侯蚡为丞相，以大司农韩安国为御史大夫。天下士郡诸侯愈益附武安。

武安者，貌侵，生贵甚。又以为诸侯王多长，上初即位，富于春秋，蚡以肺腑为京师相，非痛折节以礼诎之，天下不肃。当是时，丞相入奏事，坐语移日，所言皆听。荐人或起家至二千石，权

## 【今译】

人，同时免去了丞相、太尉的职务，让柏至侯许昌担任丞相，武强侯庄青翟任御史大夫。魏其侯、武安侯从此以列侯的身份闲居家里。

武安侯虽然不再任职，但因为王太后的缘故，还是得到皇上的宠幸，屡次建议政务也都很有成效，天下趋炎附势的官吏和士人，都纷纷离开魏其侯而归附武安侯。武安侯一天比一天骄横。建元六年(公元前135年)，窦太后逝世，丞相许昌、御史大夫庄青翟由于丧事办得不周到，被免职。皇上任用武安侯田蚡为丞相，用大司农韩安国为御史大夫。天下的士人、郡太守和诸侯王更加依附武安侯了。

武安侯，相貌非常丑陋，但出身却非常尊贵。又因为诸侯王大都年长，皇上新近登位，年纪还很轻，田蚡作为心腹亲信担任朝廷的丞相，认为如果不狠狠地制服那些不追随自己的人，用礼制使他们屈服，天下人就不会畏服。那时候，丞相入朝报告政务，坐下来就一直说到日影移位，所说的话皇帝都听从。他推荐



three others and appointed Xu Chang the marquis of Bozhi as prime minister and Zhuang Qingdi the marquis of Wuqiang as grand secretary. Dou Ying and Tian Fen retired from the government but retained their titles.

Although Tian Fen was now out of office, he was still a favourite because of Empress Dowager Wang, and his advice was often taken. And so all those officers and gentlemen who were eager for power or profit left Dou Ying and flocked to Tian Fen, who grew daily more high-handed.

In the sixth year of *Jianyuan*, Empress Dowager Dou died. The prime minister Xu Chang and the grand secretary Zhuang Qingdi were accused of mismanaging the funeral and dismissed. Tian Fen was made prime minister with Han Anguo, the minister of revenue, as grand secretary. Thereupon the gentlemen of the empire and the marquises of the principalities rallied even more closely round him.

Tian Fen was undistinguished in appearance but he attained great distinction. At that time most of the princes were old while Emperor Wu was young when he ascended the throne. Tian Fen felt that as prime minister and a relative of the imperial house, he must force others to submit humbly to him or he would not be respected through the land.

When he went to the palace to make his reports as prime minister, he would sit talking for hours, and all his proposals were accepted. When recommending men for office, he sometimes had commoners appointed as officials of the two thousand piculs rank. He became the dominant force behind the throne.



### 【原文】

移主上。上乃曰：“君除吏已尽未？吾亦欲除吏。”尝请考工地益宅，上怒曰：“君何不遂取武库！”是后乃退。尝召客饮，坐其兄盖侯南乡，自坐东乡，以为汉相尊，不可以兄故私桡。武安由此滋骄，治宅甲诸第。田园极膏腴，而市买郡县器物相属于道。前堂罗钟鼓，立曲旃；后房妇女以百数。诸侯奉金玉狗马玩好，不可胜数。

魏其失窦太后，益疏不用，无势，诸客稍稍自引而怠傲，惟灌将军独不失故。魏其日默默不得志，而独厚遇灌将军。

### 【今译】

的人有的从平民起家一直升到二千石，就这样把皇帝的权力逐渐转移到他的手中。皇上甚至说：“您要任命的官吏完了没有？我也想要任命官吏。”他曾经请求把考工官署的地批给他来扩建住宅，皇帝生气地说：“您为什么不干脆直接拿走武器库！”这以后才有所收敛。他曾经召集客人喝酒，让他的哥哥盖侯向南坐，自己向东坐，认为以汉丞相的尊严，不可因为兄长的缘故私下委屈自己。武安侯从此越来越骄横，修建的住宅在所有贵族府第中属第一。田地、园林极其肥沃，而到各郡县购买器物的车在大路上来往运输络绎不绝。前面厅堂中摆设着钟鼓，树立着曲柄长条旗；后面寝宫里姬妾数以百计。诸侯们进献的金器、玉器、狗马和赏玩物品，数也数不清。

魏其侯在窦太后逝世后，更加被皇帝疏远，不受重用，没有什么势力了，各宾客渐渐自动离去，以致对他怠慢起来，惟独灌将军一人没有改变原来的态度。魏其侯每天沉默不得志，却惟独厚待灌将军。



Once the emperor asked, "Have you finished appointing officials? If you have, I should like to select some myself."

Another time Tian Fen asked for some land belonging to a government workshop to enlarge his estate, and the emperor retorted angrily, "Why don't you simply take over the armoury?" After that he was a little more circumspect.

One day Tian Fen invited guests to a drinking party and made his elder brother, the marquis of Gai, sit facing south while he took the place of honour facing east. He explained that family etiquette must not be allowed to detract from the prime minister's dignity.

As time went on he became more and more overbearing. His mansions were the finest in the land. He owned the most fertile fields, and the roads were thronged with merchants bringing him goods from all parts of the empire. In the front hall he had a display of bronze bells, drums and pennants on curved flagstaffs, while in the inner quarters were hundreds of women. As for the dogs, horses, jewels and other articles of amusement and adornment presented to him by various nobles, these were past counting.

Dou Ying had lost power since the death of Empress Dowager Dou and one by one all his protégés left him in contempt except General Guan Fu. Thus Dou Ying, in his bitterness and frustration, treated General Guan Fu as his only friend.



### 【原文】

灌将军夫者，颍阴人也。夫父张孟，尝为颍阴侯婴舍人，得幸，因进之至二千石，故蒙灌氏姓为灌孟。吴、楚反时，颍阴侯灌何为将军，属太尉，请灌孟为校尉。夫以千人与父俱。灌孟年老，颍阴侯强请之，郁郁不得意，故战常陷坚，遂死吴军中。军法，父子俱从军，有死事，得与丧归。灌夫不肯随丧归，奋曰：“愿取吴王若将军头，以报父之仇。”于是灌夫被甲持戟，募军中壮士所善愿从者数十人。及出壁门，莫敢前。独二人及从奴十数骑驰入吴军，至吴将麾下，所杀伤数十人。不得前，复驰还，走入汉壁，皆亡其奴，独与一骑归。夫身中大创十余，适有万金良药，故得无

### 【今译】

灌夫将军，是颍阴人。灌夫的父亲张孟，曾经做过颍阴侯灌婴的家臣，受到宠幸，灌婴因而推荐他做到二千石的官，所以随灌氏的姓叫灌孟。吴、楚反叛时，颍阴侯灌何任将军，隶属于太尉，他推荐灌孟做了校尉。灌夫带着一千人和父亲同行。灌孟年老，颍阴侯勉强起用他，以致他郁郁不得志，因此战斗中时常攻打敌军的坚固阵地，终于战死在吴军阵营中。军事法令规定：父子一同参军，一个战死，另一个就能随同灵柩一起回家。灌夫不肯随灵柩回去，慷慨激昂地说：“希望拿到吴王或者是将军的头，来为父亲报仇。”当时灌夫就披上铠甲，拿着画戟，招募军队中同自己要好而且愿意跟随的勇士几十人。等到出营门时，却没有人敢继续前进。只有两个人和随从的奴仆共十几个人飞马冲进吴军军中，到达吴军将领的指挥旗下，杀死杀伤吴军将士数十人。不能前进了，于是飞马驰回，跑进汉军的营地，结果他的奴仆全都丧了命，只有一个骑兵跟他回来。灌夫身受重伤十多处，幸好有名贵的药材，才得以保住了性命。灌夫的伤口稍稍愈合，又再次



General Guan Fu was a man of Yingyin. His father Zhang Meng had been a favourite steward of Guan Ying, the marquis of Yingyin, who raised him to be an official of the two thousand piculs rank. Out of gratitude he took Guan's name, becoming Guan Meng.

During the rebellion of Wu and Chu, Guan He, the second marquis of Yingyin, served as a general under the grand marshal and Guan Meng was made a general. Guan Fu accompanied his father to the war at the head of a thousand men. By this time Guan Meng was an old man, but the marquis of Yingyin insisted that he should accept the command; so in his resentment he kept charging the enemy's strong points until he was cut down by the troops of Wu.

According to the military regulations, when both father and son serve in the army and one is killed, the other may ask leave to attend to the funeral. But instead of doing this, Guan Fu hotly vowed, "I shall avenge my father by cutting off the head of the prince of Wu or one of his generals."

He buckled on his armour, seized his halberd, and called for a few dozen volunteers to go with him. Once outside their ramparts, however, the others dared not charge the enemy. Only two men and about a dozen attendants galloped with him through the ranks of Wu. They fought their way up to one of the enemy flags and killed or wounded several dozen men, but could advance no further. By the time Guan Fu galloped back to the Han ramparts, all his attendants were dead and only one man returned with him. Guan Fu himself had received more than ten serious wounds, but his life was saved with a precious salve.



### 【原文】

死。夫创少瘳，又复请将军曰：“吾益知吴壁中曲折，请复往。”将军壮义之，恐亡夫，乃言太尉，太尉乃固止之。吴已破，灌夫以此名闻天下。

颍阴侯言之上，上以夫为中郎将。数月，坐法去。后家居长安，长安中诸公莫弗称之。孝景时，至代相。孝景崩，今上初即位，以为淮阴天下交，劲兵处，故徙夫为淮阳太守。建元元年，入为太仆。二年，夫与长乐卫尉窦甫饮，轻重不得，夫醉，搏甫。甫，窦太后昆弟也。上恐太后诛夫，徙为燕相。数岁，坐法去官，家居长安。

灌夫为人刚直使酒，不好面谀。贵戚诸有势在己之右，不欲

### 【今译】

向将军请求道：“我更加知道了吴军军营中的底细，请您让我再去。”将军认为他有胆量，有义气，但害怕损失灌夫，于是报告给太尉，太尉便坚决地阻止了他。吴军被攻破以后，灌夫因此而名扬天下。

颍阴侯将灌夫的事情报告给皇上，皇上任命灌夫为中郎将。几个月后，因为犯法被免去了职务。以后长期在长安闲住，长安的公卿没有不称赞他的。孝景帝时，他做到了代国的相。孝景帝逝世后，当今皇帝刚刚登基，认为淮阳是天下的交通枢纽，又是强兵所在之处，于是调灌夫任淮阳太守。建元元年(公元前140年)，灌夫入朝做了太仆。建元二年，灌夫和长乐卫尉窦甫喝酒，酒喝得不适度，灌夫酒醉，打了窦甫。窦甫，是窦太后的兄弟。皇上担心太后诛杀灌夫，就调他担任燕国的相。几年之后，他又犯法丢了官，回长安闲住。

灌夫为人刚正直爽，酗酒使气，不喜欢当面奉承别人。对地



When he had somewhat recovered, he asked permission to try again now that he had a better idea of Wu's defences. His general admired his spirit but did not want to lose him, so he reported the matter to the grand marshal who forbade Guan Fu to make the attempt.

After the prince of Wu's defeat, Guan Fu's fame spread throughout the land. The marquis of Yingyin reported this to the emperor, who made Guan Fu general of the palace guard. A few months later, however, he was dismissed for some offence. He made his home in the capital and everyone in Chang'an spoke highly of him. During the reign of Emperor Jing he was appointed as chief minister of the principality of Dai.

After Emperor Jing died and the present emperor had just come to the throne, Guan Fu was appointed as governor of Huaiyang because that was a centre of communications and a military stronghold. In the first year of *Jianyuan*, he served as minister of the imperial equipage.

The next year while drinking one day with Dou Fu, commander of the Chang'e Palace guard, Guan Fu quarrelled with him and, being in his cups, struck him. Dou Fu was the younger brother of empress Dowager Dou. Afraid the empress dowager might have Guan Fu killed, the emperor transferred him to be the chief minister of the principality of Yan. Several years later he was dismissed for some offence and returned to the capital to live in retirement.

Guan Fu was strong-willed, outspoken and boisterous when drunk. He never flattered anybody. He behaved in a cavalier and insulting way



### 【原文】

加礼，必陵之；诸士在己之左，愈贫贱，尤益敬，与钧。稠人广众，荐宠下辈。士亦以此多之。

夫不喜文学，好任侠，已然诺。诸所与交通，无非豪桀大猾。家累数千万，食客日数十百人。陂池田园，宗族宾客，为权利，横于颍川。颍川儿乃歌之曰：“颍水清，灌氏宁；颍水浊，灌氏族。”

灌夫家居虽富，然失势，卿相侍中宾客益衰。及魏其侯失势，亦欲倚灌夫引绳批根生平慕之后弃之者。灌夫亦倚魏其而通列侯宗室为名高。两人相为引重，其游如父子然。相得欢甚，无厌，恨相

### 【今译】

位在自己之上的皇亲国戚及有权有势的人，他如果不想对他们恭敬有礼，就一定要凌辱他们；对地位比自己要低的人，越是贫贱的，他越是敬重，并平等相待。在大庭广众之下，推荐夸奖卑下之辈。士人们因此而推重他。

灌夫不喜欢文章经学，爱好打抱不平，并一定实现自己的诺言。那些和他交往的人，无不是杰出人士或者豪奸巨猾。家中的财产累计达数千万，每天的食客就有几十甚至上百人。他在居所修建池塘岸堤、田地庄园，他的同族人和宾客为争权夺利，在颍川横行。颍川的孩子们于是编了首歌谣：“颍水清澈，灌家安宁；颍水浑浊，灌家灭族。”

灌夫闲住在家，虽然富有，但失去了权势，公卿、丞相、侍中及宾客们也渐渐疏远了。等到魏其侯失去权势，也想依靠灌夫对自己的态度去批判、谴责那些原本仰慕自己而后来又抛弃自己的人。灌夫也依仗魏其侯去交结列侯宗室以提高自己的声望。两个人互相援引，相互依靠，来往得像父子一样亲密。彼此投合，



to nobles and all who were more powerful than himself, but treated those below him as his equals — the poorer they were, the more respect he showed. In a large group he always singled out his inferiors for attention, and gentlemen admired him for this trait.

He had no taste for literature but admired gallant deeds of daring and kept his word without fail. All his friends were prominent citizens or men of great resourcefulness. His property ran into tens of millions of cash, and he daily entertained tens and hundreds of guests. His estates were large, including hills, lakes and fields, and he had a host of kinsmen and protégés. His power went unchallenged in Yingchuan, where the children used to sing:

When the River Ying runs clear, The Guans have nothing to fear;  
When the River Ying runs muddy, The Guans' end will be bloody!

But although Guan Fu was wealthy, his power declined once he was out of office and the ministers, courtiers and protégés who had associated with him stayed away.

So when Dou Ying also lost power, he was eager to join forces with Guan Fu and sever relations with those former admirers who had now deserted him. Guan Fu for his part hoped with the help of Dou Ying to make friends with other nobles and imperial clansmen and so increase his reputation. The mutual attraction and admiration they felt made the two men as close as father and son. They got on capitally together, never tiring of each other's company; they only regretted that they had not met earlier.

### 【原文】

知晚也。

灌夫有服，过丞相。丞相从容曰：“吾欲与仲孺过魏其侯，会仲孺有服。”灌夫曰：“将军乃肯幸临况魏其侯，夫安敢以服为解！请语魏其侯帐具，将军旦日蚤临。”武安许诺。灌夫具语魏其侯如所谓武安侯。魏其与其夫人益市牛酒，夜洒扫，早帐具至旦。平明，令门下候伺。至日中，丞相不来。魏其谓灌夫曰：“丞相岂忘之哉？”灌夫不怿，曰：“夫以服请，宜往。”乃驾，自往迎丞相。丞相特前戏许灌夫，殊无意往。及夫至门，丞相尚卧。于是夫人见，曰：“将军昨日幸许过魏其，魏其夫妻治具，自旦至今，未敢

### 【今译】

非常高兴，没有满足，只恨相识太晚了。

灌夫在服丧时，去拜访田丞相。丞相随便说道：“我想和仲孺你去拜访魏其侯，却正赶上你有丧在身。”灌夫说：“将军竟肯赏脸去光顾魏其侯，我灌夫哪里敢以服丧来作为推辞呢！请让我告诉魏其侯准备宴会，将军明天早上早点光临。”武安侯答应了。灌夫把他对武安侯讲的话详细地告诉了魏其侯。魏其侯和他的夫人买了很多牛肉和酒，连夜打扫，早早准备好宴饮的器具，一直忙到天亮。天刚亮，就吩咐家中管事人员探听迎接。到了中午，丞相也没有到来。魏其侯对灌夫说：“丞相难道忘了这件事了？”灌夫不高兴，说道：“我作为服丧的人应他的约，他应当前来。”于是起身驾车，亲自去迎接丞相。丞相上次不过是戏言答应了灌夫，实在无意前往。等到灌夫来到门口，丞相还躺在床上。于是灌夫进去会见，说道：“昨天将军赏脸答应去拜访魏其侯，魏其侯夫妇备办酒食，从早上一直等到现在，没敢吃一点东西。”武安



One day when Guan Fu was in mourning he called on Tian Fen the prime minister, who remarked casually, "I would like to go with you to see Dou Ying the marquis of Weiqi. It is a pity that you are in mourning."

"If Your Excellency means to do him that honour, I certainly cannot let my mourning stand in the way," said Guan Fu. "May I tell him to prepare for a visit from you early tomorrow?"

Tian Fen agreed.

Guan Fu told Dou Ying what he had said to Tian Fen. Then Dou Ying and his wife bought plenty of beef and wine and spent the whole night cleaning and sweeping their house to have all ready for the feast. Early the next morning they posted attendants outside the gate to keep a look-out for the prime minister, but though they waited till noon he did not come.

Dou Ying asked Guan Fu, "Could the prime minister have forgotten?"

"I invited him in spite of my mourning," replied Guan Fu sullenly. "He ought to have come." And he took a carriage to fetch Tian Fen.

Tian Fen had been joking the previous day as it happened, and had no intention of going. When Guan Fu reached his gate he was still in bed.

Guan Fu strode in and said, "Yesterday Your Excellency promised to call on the marquis of Weiqi. He and his wife have prepared a feast and been waiting since early morning, not venturing to take a bite."

### 【原文】

尝食。”武安鄂谢曰：“吾昨日醉，忽忘与仲孺言。”乃驾往，又徐行，灌夫愈益怒。及饮酒酣，夫起舞属丞相，丞相不起，夫从坐上语侵之。魏其乃扶灌夫去，谢丞相。丞相卒饮至夜，极欢而去。

丞相尝使籍福请魏其城南田。魏其大望曰：“老仆虽弃，将军虽贵，宁可以势夺乎！”不许。灌夫闻，怒骂籍福。籍福恶两人有隙，乃漫自好谢丞相曰：“魏其老且死，易忍，且待之。”已而武安闻魏其、灌夫实怒不予田，亦怒曰：“魏其子尝杀人，蚡活之。蚡事魏其，无所不可，何爱数顷田？且灌夫何与也？吾不敢复求田！”武安由此大怨灌夫、魏其。

### 【今译】

侯吃惊地道歉说：“我昨天喝醉了，恍惚忘记了跟仲孺说的话。”于是驾车前往，又慢慢走，灌夫便更加恼怒。等到喝酒正酣畅的时候，灌夫起身跳舞，邀请田丞相，丞相却不起身，灌夫便在座位上发言冒犯了他。魏其侯立即搀扶着灌夫离去，并向田丞相谢罪。丞相喝酒喝到后半夜，尽欢而后离去。

丞相曾经派籍福去求取魏其侯在城南的田地。魏其侯深怀怨恨，说：“老仆我虽说被废弃了，将军虽然显贵，难道就可以倚仗势力夺人之物吗？”没有答应。灌夫听说后，大怒，骂了籍福。籍福不愿意让丞相和他们之间有间隙，就自己编了一些好话，委婉地对田丞相说：“魏其侯老得即将要死了，应该忍一忍，姑且等待吧。”不久武安侯听说魏其侯、灌夫实在是因为恼怒才不给他田地，便发怒道：“魏其侯的儿子曾经杀了人，我救活了他。我侍候魏其侯没有不听从的，他为什么要吝惜那几顷田呢？况且又与灌夫有什么关系呢？我不敢再索取这些田地了。”武安侯从此非常怨恨灌夫、魏其侯。



Tian Fen was taken aback and apologized, saying, "I must have had too much to drink yesterday. It completely slipped my mind." He set off in his carriage but drove so slowly that Guan Fu grew even angrier than before.

At the height of the feast Guan Fu rose to dance, after which he urged Tian Fen to perform a dance, but the latter refused to move. Then Guan Fu sat there making cutting remarks till Dou Ying dragged him out and apologized for him to the prime minister. Tian Fen stayed and drank till nightfall, when he went cheerfully away.

Later on, Tian Fen sent Ji Fu to ask Dou Ying for some fields south of the city which he owned. Dou Ying refused, indignantly exclaiming, "I may be an old man who has been pushed aside while he holds the high rank of prime minister, but he has no right to seize my land."

When Guan Fu heard this he cursed Ji Fu roundly. Anxious to avoid a quarrel between Tian Fen and Dou Ying, Ji Fu made some excuses to the prime minister to smooth the matter over. "Dou Ying is old and won't live much longer," he said. "Just be patient and wait."

But when Tian Fen learned that Dou Ying and Guan Fu had angrily refused to give up the fields, he flew into a passion. "I saved Dou Ying's son after he killed a man," he fumed. "I have treated him handsomely in every respect. Why should he grudge me a few plots of land? In any case, what has this to do with Guan Fu? Well, I shall not ask again." From that day on, Tian Fen bore a deep grudge against Guan Fu and Dou Ying.

### 【原文】

元光四年春，丞相言灌夫家在颍川，横甚，民苦之，请案。上曰：“此丞相事，何请。”灌夫亦持丞相阴事，为奸利，受淮南王金与语言。宾客居间，遂止，俱解。

夏，丞相取燕王女为夫人，有太后诏，召列侯宗室皆往贺。魏其侯过灌夫，欲与俱。夫谢曰：“夫数以酒失得过丞相，丞相今者又与夫有隙。”魏其曰：“事已解。”强与俱。饮酒酣，武安起为寿，坐皆避席伏。已魏其侯为寿，独故人避席耳，余半膝席。灌夫不悦。起行酒至武安，武安膝席曰：“不能满觞。”夫怒，因嘻笑曰：“将军贵人也，属之！”时武安不肯。行酒次至临汝侯，

### 【今译】

元光四年春天（公元前131年），丞相进言说灌夫家在颍川，非常横暴，百姓苦不堪言，请求朝廷查办。皇上说：“这是丞相的事，何必请示朝廷。”灌夫也掌握了丞相的一些阴私丑事，如作奸牟利，收受淮南王的金钱贿赂并与他私下谈话。宾客从中调解，才作罢，都和解了。

夏天，丞相娶燕王的女儿为夫人，有王太后的诏令，叫列侯和宗室都去祝贺。魏其侯去拜访灌夫，想和他一起去。灌夫推辞道：“我屡次因为醉酒失礼得罪了丞相，丞相近来正和我有嫌隙。”魏其侯说：“事情都已经和解了。”硬拉着他一起去。酒兴正浓，武安侯起身祝酒，在座之人都离开席位伏在地上。后来魏其侯祝酒，则只有老朋友们离开席位，其它的人有一半都不过是半起长跪于席间。灌夫不高兴。起身一一敬酒，轮到武安侯时，武安侯双膝长跪于席上说：“不能喝满杯。”灌夫发怒，于是假笑着说：“将军您是贵人啊，喝光了吧！”当时武安侯不肯。灌夫接



In the spring of the fourth year of *Yuanguang*, Tian Fen reported to the emperor, "Guan Fu's family in Yingchuan is so overbearing that the people are suffering. I ask for an investigation."

"This is within your jurisdiction as prime minister," replied the emperor. "Why ask my permission?"

Guan Fu for his part knew something of Tian Fen's dark deeds and corruption, and was aware that he was in communication with the prince of Huainan and had accepted bribes from him. But friends intervened to patch things up between them.

That summer Tian Fen married the daughter of the prince of Yan, and the empress dowager decreed that all the nobles and members of the imperial house should go to offer their congratulations. Dou Ying called to ask Guan Fu to accompany him, but Guan Fu declined.

"I have offended the prime minister several times when in my cups," he said. "And now he has another grudge against me."

"But all that has been settled," said Dou Ying, and prevailed upon Guan Fu to go with him.

When the drinking was at its height Tian Fen rose to propose a toast, at which all his guests left their mats and bowed low. But when Dou Ying proposed a toast only his friends left their mats, all the other guests simply kneeling where they were. Guan Fu took umbrage at this and rose to urge the rest to drink. When he came to Tian Fen, the prime minister merely knelt on his mat and said, "I cannot drink a whole cup."

Guan Fu was furious but he forced a smile. "A great man like Your Excellency must drink up!" he cried. Still Tian Fen refused to drink.

Next Guan Fu went to the marquis of Linru, who was whispering



### 【原文】

临汝侯方与程不识耳语，又不避席。夫无所发怒，乃骂临汝侯曰：“生平毁程不识不直一钱，今日长者为寿，乃效女儿呴濡耳语！”武安谓灌夫曰：“程、李俱东、西宫卫尉，今众辱程将军，仲孺独不为李将军地乎！”灌夫曰：“今日斩头陷匈，何知程、李乎！”坐乃起更衣，稍稍去。魏其侯去，麾灌夫出。武安遂怒曰：“此吾骄灌夫罪。”乃令骑留灌夫。灌夫欲出不得。籍福起为谢，案灌夫项令谢。夫愈怒，不肯谢。武安乃麾骑缚夫置传舍，召长史曰：“今日召宗室，有诏。”劾灌夫骂坐不敬，系居室。遂按其前事，遣吏分曹逐捕诸灌氏支属，皆得弃市罪。魏其侯大愧，为资使宾客请，

### 【今译】

下去敬酒，轮到临汝侯，临汝侯正在同程不识附耳谈话，又不离开席位。灌夫的怒气无处发泄，便骂临汝侯道：“你平时将程不识贬得一钱不值，今天长辈为你祝酒，你又学女子唧唧呱呱咬耳朵！”武安侯对灌夫说：“程将军和李将军都是东西两宫的卫尉，你今天当众羞辱程将军，难道仲孺你不给李将军留点面子吗？”灌夫说：“今天砍我的头，断我的胸，也在所不惜，又哪里在乎什么程将军、李将军！”在座的人便起身借口上厕所，渐渐散去了。魏其侯走时，招呼灌夫一同出去。武安侯于是大怒道：“这是我骄宠灌夫的过错。”便令骑士扣留灌夫。灌夫想出去而不能。籍福起身替他谢罪，并按着灌夫的脖子让他认罪。灌夫越发生气，不肯谢罪。武安侯就指挥骑士捆住灌夫绑到传舍去，召来长史说：“今天召集皇族来，是有诏令的。”弹劾灌夫席间责骂宾客，犯了不敬之罪，把他拘禁在室内。于是追查他以前的错事，派遣小吏分头追捕所有灌家的旁支近亲，都判了斩首示众之罪。魏其侯非常惭愧，出钱让宾客向田丞相求情，没有得到谅解。武安侯的属部



to Cheng Bushi and did not leave his mat either. To vent his anger, Guan Fu swore at him, "You usually run down Cheng Bushi as if he were not worth a cent; yet today when one of your elders offers you a toast, you are whispering into his ear like a girl!"

Tian Fen drew him aside and warned him, "Cheng Bushi and Li Guang are commanders of the guard at the East and West Palaces. If you insult General Cheng in public like this, what must General Li feel?"

"I am ready to have my head cut off or my chest ripped open," retorted Guan Fu. "What do I care about either Cheng or Li?"

One by one the guests went off to the lavatory and then slipped away, and Dou Ying signed to Guan Fu to go with him. But Tian Fen exclaimed angrily, "That was my own fault — I let Guan Fu go too far!" He ordered his horsemen to detain Guan Fu, so that he could not leave. Ji Fu rose to apologize for him, putting a hand on the back of his neck to force him to apologize. Then Tian Fen ordered his horsemen to bind him and hold him prisoner.

Summoning his chief officer, he said, "Today I invited members of the imperial house at the order of the empress dowager. Because Guan Fu swore at my guests and showed no respect, I have detained him in my house." Then he brought up the old charges against Guan Fu and sent officers to arrest his entire clan, accusing them of capital offences.

Dou Ying, bitterly repenting his part in this, laid out money and sent men to beg for Guan Fu's release, but all to no avail. With Tian

**【原文】**

莫能解。武安吏皆为耳目，诸灌氏皆亡匿，夫系，遂不得告言武安阴事。

魏其锐身为救灌夫，夫人谏魏其曰：“灌将军得罪丞相，与太后家忤，宁可救邪？”魏其侯曰：“侯自我得之，自我捐之，无所恨。且终不令灌仲孺独死，婴独生。”乃匿其家，窃出上书。立召入，具言灌夫醉饱事，不足诛。上然之，赐魏其食，曰：“东朝廷辩之。”

魏其之东朝，盛推灌夫之善，言其醉饱得过，乃丞相以他事诬罪之。武安又盛毁灌夫所为横恣，罪逆不道。魏其度不可奈何，因言丞相短。武安曰：“天下幸而安乐无事，盼得为肺腑，所好音乐

**【今译】**

都是他的耳目，所有灌家的人都逃跑、躲藏起来了，灌夫也被拘押，因此不可能告发武安侯的阴私丑事。

魏其侯挺身而出营救灌夫。夫人劝谏他说：“灌将军得罪了丞相，与太后家作对，难道可以营救吗？”魏其侯说：“侯爵是由我得来的，再由我丢掉，也没有什么可惜的。况且总不能让灌仲孺一个人去死，而我却活着。”于是背着家里人，偷偷地出来上书给皇上。皇上立即召他进去，他详细说明了灌夫酒醉后所做的事，认为理不当死。皇上认为他的意见对，赏赐魏其侯进餐，说：“到东宫去公开辩论这件事情。”

魏其侯到达东宫，大力称道灌夫的好处，说他是酒醉后犯的错误，而丞相却拿别的事情来诬陷加罪给他。武安侯则极力诋毁灌夫的横行霸道，认为他的罪行是大逆不道。魏其侯估计对付不了他，于是就数说丞相的短处。武安侯说：“天下有幸安乐无事，我得以作为皇上的心腹，所喜好的无非是音乐、狗马、田宅。我

Fen's officers hot on their track, all the Guans went into hiding; and since Guan Fu himself was under arrest he could not report Tian Fen's misdeeds to the emperor.

Dou Ying made every effort to save Guan Fu, although his wife warned him, "General Guan has offended the prime minister and annoyed the empress dowager and her family. How can you save him?"

"I won the title of marquis for myself and can give it up without regret," replied her husband. "I cannot let Guan Fu die while I am alive."

Unknown to his family, he slipped out and presented a memorial to the throne. He was immediately summoned to the palace, where he explained that Guan Fu had been drunk during the feast and that this offence should not be punished by death. The emperor agreed and kept him to a meal, then said, "Go and argue your case now in the East Empress Dowager's Court."

So Dou Ying went to the East Court. There he stressed Guan Fu's good qualities, admitted that he had drunk too much, but declared that the prime minister was now bringing false charges against him. Thereupon Tian Fen expatiated at length on Guan Fu's arrogance and lawlessness, declaring him guilty of treason. Since Dou Ying feared he could not refute these charges, he started enumerating the prime minister's own faults.

Tian Fen replied, "Fortunately the world is at peace now so that I,

### 【原文】

狗马田宅。蚡所爱倡优巧匠之属，不如魏其、灌夫日夜招聚天下豪杰壮士与论议，腹诽而心谤，不仰视天而俯画地，辟倪两宫间，幸天下有变，而欲有大功。臣乃不知魏其等所为。”于是上问朝臣：“两人孰是？”御史大夫韩安国曰：“魏其言灌夫父死事，身荷戟驰入不测之吴军，身被数十创，名冠三军，此天下壮士，非有大恶，争杯酒，不足引他过以诛也。魏其言是也。丞相亦言灌夫通奸猾，侵细民，家累巨万，横恣颍川，凌轹宗室，侵犯骨肉，此所谓‘枝大于本，胫大于股，不折必披’，丞相言亦是。唯明主裁之。”主爵都尉汲黯是魏其。内史郑当时是魏其，后不

### 【今译】

所喜欢的只是优伶、巧匠之类的人，不像魏其侯、灌夫他们整天招聚天下的豪杰壮士在一起议论国家大事，心中不满，不是抬头看天，就是俯身在地上画，窥测于东西两宫之间，盼着天下有变，好立大功。我真不知道魏其侯等都干了些什么。”于是皇上问大臣们：“他们两人谁说得对？”御史大夫韩安国说：“魏其侯说灌夫的父亲为国事而死，灌夫亲自扛着画戟驰入安危难料的吴军军营中，身受几十处伤，声名在全军中数第一，这是天下的勇士，他并没有什么大的罪恶，只是因为多喝了几杯酒赌气，不应该再加上其它的罪名杀了他。魏其侯的话是对的。丞相也说灌夫结交奸猾歹徒，欺凌百姓，家产累计达亿万之巨，在颍川横行霸道，欺侮皇室，冒犯皇亲，这就是所说的‘树枝比树根还大，小腿比大腿还粗，那么后果不是折断就是分裂’，那么丞相的话也是对的。希望明主来裁决这件事。”主爵都尉汲黯认为魏其侯对。内史郑当时认为魏其侯对，但后来不敢坚定地回答。其余的



as a relative of the imperial house, can enjoy music, horses, hounds and my estate. I am fond of musicians, actors and craftsmen, unlike Dou Ying and Guan Fu who day and night gather adventurers and powerful men from all parts of the land to plot together, taunting and slandering others behind their backs, searching the heavens for omens and sketching their plans of campaign on the ground, manoeuvring between the emperor and empress dowager, and hoping for unrest so that can achieve great deeds. I cannot tell what Dou Ying and that crew are up to."

The emperor asked his ministers, "Which of these two is right?"

The grand secretary Han Anguo said, "Dou Ying, the marquis of Weiqi, has told us how Guan Fu after his father's death seized his spear and, blind to danger, charged the ranks of Wu. He received a dozen wounds and his fame spread throughout the army as one of the bravest fighters in all the land. Now he has committed no serious crime in simply brawling over a cup of wine, and we should not execute him for other faults. In this respect, the marquis of Weiqi is right.

"The prime minister, however, tells us that Guan Fu is in league with evil men, has oppressed the common people, amassed millions, tyrannized over Yingchuan, and even insulted members of the imperial house, encroaching upon their rights. When the branch is larger than the trunk, it will destroy the tree unless it is broken off. Thus the prime minister is also right. Only our sagacious sovereign can decide between them."

Ji An, the officer in charge of principalities, spoke in favour of Dou Ying. The city prefect, Zheng Dangshi, spoke up for him too but dared not make out a strong case. All the others were afraid to speak at all.



### 【原文】

敢坚对。余皆莫敢对。上怒内史曰：“公平生数言魏其、武安长短，今日廷论，局趣效辕下驹，吾并斩若属矣！”即罢起入，上食太后。太后亦已使人候伺，具以告太后。太后怒，不食，曰：“今我在也，而人皆藉吾弟，令我百岁后，皆鱼肉之矣。且帝宁能为石人邪？此特帝在，即录录，设百岁后，是属宁有可信者乎？”上谢曰：“俱宗室外家，故廷辩之。不然，此一狱吏所决耳。”是时，郎中令石建为上分别言两人事。

武安已罢朝，出止车门，召韩御史大夫载，怒曰：“与长孺共一老秃翁，何为首鼠两端？”韩御史良久谓丞相曰：“君何不自喜？”

### 【今译】

人都不敢回答。皇上斥责内史道：“你平时多次议论魏其侯、武安侯的长短，今天当廷辩论，却畏首畏尾，像驾在车辕下的小马驹，我将把你们一并杀掉。”马上结束朝会，起身离去，侍候太后进餐。太后也已经派人去打探消息，已详细得到了报告。太后大怒，不吃饭，说道：“如今我还活着，人们就都来糟蹋我的兄弟，假使我百年之后，那一定是把他当作鱼肉来割了。况且皇上你能做一个石头人吗？如今只是你这皇帝还在，他们也就随声附和，假使你百年之后，这些人中还有可以信赖的吗？”皇上谢罪说：“只因为他们两个都是皇族外戚，这才当朝辨理。不然的话，这不过是一个狱官所能判决的案子。”当时，郎中令石建向皇上单独谈了两个人的事。

武安侯已经退朝，出了止车门，招呼韩御史大夫一同乘车，生气地说：“和长孺共同对付一个老家伙，你为什么首尾两端，动摇不定？”韩御史过了很久才对丞相说：“你怎么不自爱自重？魏其



The emperor was angry and swore at Zheng Dangshi, "You usually have plenty to say about the good points and bad of Dou Ying and Tian Fen. Yet in a debate at court you are like a pony caught between shafts. I should have the lot of you beheaded."

Emperor Wu dismissed the court and went to the inner apartments to offer food to the empress dowager. But her spies had already told her about the debate and she was too angry to eat.

"Even while I am alive they are trampling on my younger brother!" she scolded. "As soon as I am dead they will swallow him up! And do you expect to last as long as a stone statue? If you give way so meekly in your lifetime, after your death which one of these men can be trusted?"

The emperor apologized and said, "It is because they are both related to the imperial house that I had this debate in court. Otherwise such matters could be decided by any law officer."

Then Shi Jian, chief of the palace guards, analysed the two men's cases for the emperor.

When the court was dismissed Tian Fen went to find his carriage at the gate and made the grand secretary Han Anguo ride with him.

"What made you dither like a mouse poking his head out of his hole when dealing with that old bald pate?" he demanded angrily.

After a considerable silence Han Anguo replied, "Why couldn't you keep your temper? When Dou Ying attacked you, you should have

### 【原文】

夫魏其毁君，君当免冠解印绶归，曰‘臣以肺腑幸得待罪，固非其任，魏其言皆是’。如此，上必多君有让，不废君。魏其必内愧，杜门齶舌自杀。今人毁君，君亦毁人，譬如贾竖女子争言，何其无大体也！”武安谢罪曰：“争时急，不知出此。”

于是上使御史簿责魏其所言灌夫，颇不仇，欺谩。劾系都司空。孝景时，魏其常受遗诏，曰“事有不便，以便宜论上”。及系，灌夫罪至族。事日急，诸公莫敢复明言于上。魏其乃使昆弟子上书言之，幸得复召见。书奏上，而案尚书大行无遗诏。诏书独藏魏其家，家丞封。乃劾魏其矫先帝诏，罪当弃市。五年十

### 【今译】

候毁谤您的时候，您应该免冠解印，辞职回家，说：‘我作为朝廷心腹侥幸为官，本来就不称职，魏其侯说得很对’。这样，皇上一定会赞许您能够谦让，不会罢免您。而魏其侯也一定会心中有愧，关门咬舌自杀。如今人家毁谤您，您也毁谤人家，好像商人、妇女吵嘴，多么不识大体啊！”武安侯谢罪说：“争辩的时候太焦急了，没有想到这样的计策。”

因此皇上派御史按文书追查魏其侯所说的情况，很多不相符合，于是魏其侯被认定犯了欺君之罪。他被弹劾关押到了都司空。孝景帝时，魏其侯曾受有遗诏，遗诏上说“遇有不便之事，可以不按常规而稟明皇上”。但此时魏其侯已经被关押，灌夫犯了要灭族的罪，事态一天比一天紧急，大臣们不敢就这件事向皇上进谏。于是魏其侯让侄儿上书皇上奏明遗诏之事，希望能被皇上召见。报告送呈，查遍尚书所藏并没有孝景皇帝的遗诏。诏书只收藏在魏其侯家中，由家臣盖印加封。于是又弹劾魏其侯伪造先帝遗诏，罪名应当斩首示众。元光五年十月（公元前130



taken off your official cap and seal and handed in your resignation, saying, 'As a relative of the imperial family I have had the privilege of serving Your Majesty but proved unworthy of my post. The marquis of WeiQi is right.' The emperor would not have accepted your modesty so much that he would not have accepted your resignation, while Dou Ying would have been so ashamed that he would have locked himself up, bitten out his tongue and taken his own life. Instead, you hurled back abuse when he abused you as if this were a squabble between hawkers or women. It was most undignified."

Tian Fen excused himself, saying, "In the heat of the moment that never occurred to me."

The emperor ordered the censorate to verify Dou Ying's statements about Guan Fu, and when these were found to be untrue he was impeached and imprisoned by the gaoler of the imperial clan.

During the reign of Emperor Jing, Dou Ying had received an imperial decree saying that any serious offence he might have committed should be dealt with leniently when tried. Now that he was in prison and Guan Fu had been arrested and condemned to death with his whole family, the situation was growing daily more ominous, yet nobody dared to intercede with the emperor. So Dou Ying made his brother's son mention the decree he had received, thus hoping to have an audience with the emperor. But the imperial secretariat could find no such decree left by the previous emperor at the time of his death. The only copy was that in the possession of Dou Ying, sealed by his family steward. Accordingly he was charged with forging an imperial decree, a capital offence.

In the tenth month of the fifth year of *Yuanguang*, Guan Fu and all

### 【原文】

月，悉论灌夫及家属。魏其良久乃闻，闻即恚，病痱，不食欲死。或闻上无意杀魏其，魏其复食，治病，议定不死矣。乃有蜚语为恶言闻上，故以十二月晦论弃市渭城。

其春，武安侯病，专呼服谢罪。使巫视鬼者视之，见魏其、灌夫共守欲杀之。竟死。子恬嗣。元朔三年，武安侯坐衣襜褕入宫，不敬。

淮南王安谋反觉，治。王前朝，武安侯为太尉，时迎王至霸上，谓王曰：“上未有太子，大王最贤，高祖孙，即宫车晏驾，非大王立当谁哉！”淮南王大喜，厚遗金财物。上自魏其时不直

### 【今译】

年)，灌夫及其家属全部被论罪处决了。魏其侯很久以后才听说这件事，听后大怒，患了中风病，绝食想要寻死。又有人听说皇上本没有杀魏其侯的意思，魏其侯才恢复饮食，医治疾病，决定不再寻死了。后来竟又有流言蜚语、恶毒毁谤之辞传到皇上那里，因此于十二月月末在渭城将魏其侯判罪，斩首示众。

这年春天，武安侯生病，一味大喊大叫认错服罪。让能够见到鬼的巫师来探视他，巫师称看见了魏其侯和灌夫一起守在那里，要杀死武安侯。武安侯最终也死掉了。他的儿子田恬承袭了爵位。元朔三年(公元前126年)，武安侯穿着短衣服进入宫殿，犯了不敬之罪。

淮南王刘安图谋反叛被发觉了，治了罪。淮南王前次来朝见时，武安侯正担任太尉，当时到霸上迎接淮南王，对淮南王说：“皇上没有太子，大王您最贤明，又是高祖的孙子，如果皇上驾崩，不立大王为皇帝，又该立谁呢！”淮南王非常高兴，送给他很多黄金和财物。皇上自从魏其侯事发时就不认为武安侯是正确



his family were executed. When Dou Ying subsequently learned of this, he was so enraged that he had an epileptic fit and tried to starve himself to death. But hearing that Emperor Wu did not mean to kill him, he started eating and taking medicine again. It had been decided that his life should be spared, but then a rumour reached the emperor to the effect that Dou Ying was slandering him. He was therefore condemned to be executed at the end of the twelfth month in Weicheng.

The following spring Tian Fen fell ill and kept crying out to beg forgiveness for his crimes. A sorcerer who could see spirits was sent for, and he saw the ghosts of Dou Ying and Guan Fu watching over Tian Fen and waiting for a chance to kill him. And so he died.

His son Tian Tian succeeded to his title. In the winter of the third year of *Yuanshuo*, this second marquis of Wuan was found guilty of disrespect to the throne because he wore a short tunic to the palace. Thereupon the fief was abolished.

After the prince of Huainan's plot to rebel was discovered and investigated it emerged that previously, when he had come to court, Tian Fen, then grand marshal, had welcomed him at Bashang. "The emperor has no heir and Your Highness is the ablest of the First Emperor's grandsons," said Tian Fen. "When the emperor dies, you should naturally succeed him." The prince was so pleased that he presented Tian Fen with much gold and other gifts.

Emperor Wu had been prejudiced against Tian Fen ever since he destroyed Dou Ying and had only put up with him for the sake of the

### 【原文】

武安，特为太后故耳。及闻淮南王金事，上曰：“使武安侯在者，族矣！”

太史公曰：魏其、武安皆以外戚重，灌夫用一时决策而名显。魏其之举以吴、楚，武安之贵在日月之际。然魏其诚不知时变，灌夫无术而不逊，两人相翼，乃成祸乱。武安负贵而好权，杯酒责望，陷彼两贤。呜呼哀哉！迁怒及人，命亦不延。众庶不载，竟被恶言。呜呼哀哉！祸所从来矣！

### 【今译】

的，只不过是因为太后的缘故罢了。等到听说了淮南王赠送黄金之事，皇上就说：“如果武安侯还活着，应该灭族了吧！”

太史公说：魏其侯、武安侯都是靠外戚的身份而得以显贵的，灌夫因为偶然的一次冒险决断而名声显赫。魏其侯是因为吴、楚之乱得以提升，武安侯则是利用了太后和皇上共同掌权的机会而得以显贵。然而魏其侯太不懂得时势的变化，灌夫又不学无术，不知谦逊，这两个人相互翼护，于是酿成大祸。武安侯倚仗显贵的地位而喜好权势，为了一杯酒的怨气，就陷害了两个有才能的人。唉，可惜呀！因小事迁怒别人，自己的性命也一定不能长久。广大民众不支持，终于受到恶言中伤。唉，太可悲了！灾祸就是这样来的啊！



empress dowager. When he heard about these gifts from the prince of Huainan, he declared, "If Tian Fen were still alive today I should have executed him and all his family."

The Grand Historian comments: Both Dou Ying and Tian Fen rose to power because they were related to an empress. Guan Fu won fame for a single daring exploit; Dou Ying was promoted after the rebellion of Wu and Chu, and Tian Fen became prominent at a time when the emperor was young and the empress dowager wielded power.

But Dou Ying did not know how to change with the times, while Guan Fu was overbearing and tactless. Each, by aiding the other, brought calamity on himself. Tian Fen took advantage of his high position to display his power, destroying two good men because of a quarrel over a cup of wine. The pity of it!

One who vents his anger on an innocent party will not long survive. Those who lack popular support must fall prey to slander. Alas, disaster never strikes without cause!

<sup>1</sup> 154 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> 140 B.C.



## 李将军列传

### 【原文】

李将军广者，陇西成纪人也。其先曰李信，秦时为将，逐得燕太子丹者也。故槐里，徙成纪。广家世世受射。孝文帝十四年，匈奴大入萧关，而广以良家子从军击胡，用善骑射，杀首虏多，为汉中郎。广从弟李蔡亦为郎，皆为武骑常侍，秩八百石。尝从行，有所冲陷折关及格猛兽，而文帝曰：“惜乎，子不遇时！如令子当高帝时，万户侯岂足道哉！”

及孝景初立，广为陇西都尉，徙为骑郎将。吴、楚军时，广为骁骑都尉，从太尉亚夫击吴、楚军，取旗，显功名昌邑下。以

### 【今译】

李将军名叫李广，是陇西郡成纪人。他的祖先叫李信，在秦朝做过将军，就是追击并捉到燕国太子丹的那位将军。故里原在槐里，后迁居到了成纪。李广家世代传习箭术。孝文帝十四年时（公元前166年），匈奴大举入侵萧关，而李广作为良家子弟随军攻打匈奴，因为善于骑马射箭，斩杀、俘虏了很多敌人，担任了汉朝的中郎。李广的堂弟李蔡也做了郎官，他们都担任武骑常侍，俸禄为八百石。李广曾经随从皇上出行，很能冲锋陷阵、突破险阻以及格杀猛兽，文帝说道：“真可惜呀，您没有遇到时机！若是您处在高帝那个时候，封个万户侯还用说吗！”

等到孝景帝刚刚即位，李广担任陇西都尉，调任做了骑郎将。吴、楚起兵之时，李广担任骁骑都尉，跟随太尉周亚夫去攻打吴、楚叛军，他夺得了敌人的军旗，在昌邑城下立功扬名。因



## Li Guang

General Li Guang, a man of Chengji in Longxi, was descended from Li Xin, the general of Qin who pursued and captured Dan, the crown prince of Yan. His family originated in Huaili but later moved to Chengji, and the men of each generation were trained in archery.

In the fourteenth year of Emperor Wen,<sup>1</sup> a strong force of Huns rode through the Xiao Pass. Then Li Guang, as the son of a good family, joined the army to resist the enemy. A brilliant mounted archer, he killed and captured many Huns and was made a palace guard. He and his cousin Li Cai, another palace guard, served as mounted guards with a stipend of eight hundred piculs of grain.

Li Guang often accompanied the emperor on his trips, and his skill in attack and defence or in grappling with wild beasts made Emperor Wen remark, "What a pity you weren't born at a different time! Had you lived during Emperor Gaozu's reign, you would easily have won a fief with ten thousand households."

When Emperor Jing ascended the throne, Li Guang was appointed as commander of Longxi and soon promoted to the rank of a general of the mounted guard. During the campaign against Wu and Chu he served as commander of the Valiant Cavalry under Grand Marshal Zhou Yafu and distinguished himself by capturing the rebels' flag at Changyi. But because he accepted an appointment as a general from

### 【原文】

梁王授广将军印，还，赏不行。徙为上谷太守，匈奴日以合战。典属国公孙昆邪为上泣曰：“李广才气，天下无双，自负其能，数与虏敌战，恐亡之。”于是乃徙为上郡太守。后广转为边郡太守，徙上郡。尝为陇西、北地、雁门、代郡、云中太守，皆以力战为名。

匈奴大入上郡，天子使中贵人从广勒习兵击匈奴。中贵人将骑数十纵，见匈奴三人，与战。三人还射，伤中贵人，杀其骑且尽。中贵人走广。广曰：“是必射雕者也。”广乃遂从百骑往驰三人。三人亡马步行，行数十里。广令其骑张左右翼，而广身自射彼三人者，杀其二人，生得一人，果匈奴射雕者也。已缚之上马，望匈奴

### 【今译】

梁王私自把将军印授给了李广，回朝后，没有受到封赏。调任做了上谷太守，匈奴每天都来和他交战。典属国公孙昆邪向皇上哭着说：“李广的才气，天下无双，他自恃有才能，屡次和匈奴交锋，我担心会牺牲了他。”这样才把他调任做了上郡太守。后来李广历任边地各郡太守，然后调任上郡太守。他曾经做过陇西、北地、雁门、代郡和云中太守，都因为努力作战而出名。

匈奴大举侵入上郡，天子派遣一位受宠的宦官随同李广领兵反击匈奴。宦官带领几十名骑兵纵马奔跑，遇见三个匈奴人，和他们交战。那三人转身射箭，射伤了宦官，把他手下的骑兵几乎都杀光了。宦官跑到李广那里。李广就说：“那一定是射雕手。”李广于是带上一百名骑兵前去追赶那三个人。那三个人没有马正在步行，走了有几十里路。李广命令他的骑兵左右散开，而李广亲自射那三个人，杀死了两个，活捉了一个，果然就是匈奴的射雕手。把那个人绑上马之后，就望见有几千名匈奴的骑兵，他们



the prince of Liang without imperial sanction, he was not rewarded on the return of the army. Instead he was made the governor of Shanggu, a district constantly harried by the Huns.

The director of dependent states, Gongsun Kunxie, pleaded with the emperor, "There is no braver or more brilliant officer in the empire than Li Guang, but trusting to his own ability he never loses a chance of engaging the Huns. I am afraid we may lose him."

Li Guang was therefore transferred to the governorship of Shangjun. He was later transferred to govern various frontier provinces and then made the governor of Shangjun again. He also held posts at Longxi, Beidi, Yanmen, Daijun and Yunzhong. And wherever he went he won fame for his hard fighting.

When the Huns invaded Shangjun in force, Emperor Jing ordered one of his favourite eunuchs to join Li Guang in order to gain experience in fighting the Huns. One day this eunuch at the head of several dozen horsemen met with three Hunnish riders and engaged them in a fight. The Huns turned in their saddles and drew their bows, wounding the eunuch and killing most of his men. The eunuch fled back to Li Guang.

"These must be their best sharp-shooters known as the 'eagle-hunters,'" said Li Guang, and rode out with a hundred horsemen in pursuit. The three Huns had lost their horses and covered several dozen *li* on foot. Li Guang ordered his men to fan out to the left and the right while he shot at the enemy and, after killing two of them and taking the third alive, he found that these were indeed "eagle-hunters".

Li Guang had barely bound the captive on his horse when several thousand Hunnish horsemen came in sight, but the smallness of the



### 【原文】

有数千骑，见广，以为诱骑，皆惊，上山陈。广之百骑皆大恐，欲驰还走。广曰：“吾去大军数十里，今如此以百骑走，匈奴追射我立尽。今我留，匈奴必以我为大军诱之，必不敢击我。”广令诸骑曰：“前！”前未到匈奴陈二里所，止，令曰：“皆下马解鞍！”其骑曰：“虏多且近，即有急，奈何？”广曰：“彼虏以我为走，今皆解鞍以示不走，用坚其意。”于是胡骑遂不敢击。有白马将出护其兵，李广上马与十余骑奔射杀胡白马将，而复还至其骑中，解鞍，令士皆纵马卧。是时会暮，胡兵终怪之，不敢击。夜半时，胡兵亦

### 【今译】

见到李广，还认为是诱敌的骑兵，全都很惊慌，就上山摆开了阵势。李广的一百名骑兵都非常惊恐，想要快马往回跑。李广说：“我们离大军有几十里地，如今若是就凭这一百名骑兵逃跑，匈奴人追赶上射杀我们，会立刻把我们都杀光。现在我们就停留在这里，匈奴人一定会认为我们是大军的诱敌部队，必然不敢来攻击我们。”李广命令各位骑兵说：“前进！”进到离匈奴人的阵地两里远的地方，他们停住了，李广下令：“全都下马，解下马鞍！”他手下的骑兵说：“敌军人多又这么近，若有紧急情况，怎么办？”李广说：“那些匈奴人以为我们会逃跑，现在我们全都解下马鞍，表示我们不跑，这样就能坚定他们认为我们是诱敌之兵的猜想。”就这样匈奴的骑兵终于没敢来攻击。有个骑白马的将军出阵来监护他的士兵，李广跨上马带着十多名骑兵奔驰前往，射死了那个骑白马的匈奴将军，而后重又回到了他的骑兵之中，解下马鞍，命令士兵全都把马放开，躺卧到地上。这个时候正值傍晚，匈奴人始终都感到这事很奇怪，没敢前来攻击。半夜的时



Chinese force made them suspect a trap and they took to the hills in defensive formation. The hundred horsemen with Li Guang were so alarmed that they wanted to gallop straight back.

"We are dozens of *li* from our main force," said Li Guang. "If the hundred of us make a dash for it, the Huns will give chase and shoot us down in no time; whereas if we stay here and will not dare to attack."

He gave the order, "Advance!" When they were about two *li* from the enemy, he halted and ordered, "Dismount and undo your saddles."

"This horde of Huns is almost on top of us," protested his men. "What shall we do if they attack?"

"They expect us to withdraw," replied Li Guang. "But when they see us unsaddle our horses to stop here, they will be surer than ever that this is a trick."

The Huns dared not attack, but one of their chieftains galloped out on a white horse to reconnoitre. Li Guang remounted and charged with a dozen riders to shoot down the Hun. This done, he returned to his troops, unsaddled his mount and ordered his men to turn loose their horses and lie down to sleep. It was now dusk and the Huns were too bewildered to attack. Suspecting that an ambushing Han (206B.

### 【原文】

以为汉有伏军于旁，欲夜取之，胡皆引兵而去。平旦，李广乃归其大军。大军不知广所之，故弗从。

居久之，孝景崩，武帝立，左右以为广名将也，于是广以上郡太守为未央卫尉，而程不识亦为长乐卫尉。程不识故与李广俱以边太守将军屯。及出击胡，而广行无部伍行陈，就善水草屯，舍止，人人自便，不击刁斗以自卫，莫府省约文书籍事，然亦远斥候，未尝遇害。程不识正部曲行伍营陈，击刁斗，士吏治军簿至明，军不得休息，然亦未尝遇害。不识曰：“李广军极简易，然虏卒犯之无以禁也；而其士卒亦佚乐，咸乐为之死。我军虽烦扰，然虏亦不得

### 【今译】

候，匈奴兵也以为汉朝在旁边埋伏有军队，想要夜击他们，匈奴的军队就全都撤离了。第二天早晨，李广才回到他的大军之中。大部队因为不知道李广去了哪里，所以没有前往接应。

过了很久，孝景帝去世，武帝即位，左右近臣都认为李广是员名将，这样李广就由上郡太守担任了未央宫的卫尉，而程不识也做了长乐宫的卫尉。程不识原先和李广都是作为边郡太守领兵屯驻。等到出兵攻打匈奴的时候，李广行军作战不讲部曲编制和行列阵势，靠近良好的水源草地屯兵，住宿停留时，人人均可自便，不敲击刁斗用以自卫，军中幕府的文书簿籍都很简约，然而也在远处设置了侦察了望哨，未曾遇到过危害。程不识整饬部曲编制以及行伍队列和阵营，夜击刁斗警戒，官兵们处理军中簿籍直到天明，军队得不到休整，然而也并未曾遇有祸害。程不识说：“李广的军队过于随随便便，可一旦敌军来犯，他们无法招架；而他手下的士卒也安逸享乐，全都乐于为他效死力。我军虽然烦劳忙碌，然而敌军也没办法来进犯我军。”这个时候，汉朝边郡



C.-8A.D.) force might fall on them in the dark, they withdrew by night. At dawn Li Guang rejoined the main army, which had not come to his rescue because it had no idea where he had gone.

When Emperor Jing died and Emperor Wu succeeded to the throne, Li Guang's fame as a general won him promotion from his post at Shangjun to the command of the guard of Weiyang Palace. At this time Cheng Bushi was commander of the guard of Changle Palace. He, like Li Guang, had served as a governor of frontier provinces, defending the border and leading expeditions against the Huns.

Li Guang paid little attention to military formation on the march, but would make camp wherever he found water and grass and let his men do as they pleased. He appointed no one to sound the watch and kept dispatch-writing and clerical work down to a minimum at his headquarters. But his scouts always reconnoitred deep into enemy territory, and he had never come to any harm.

Cheng Bushi, on the other hand, laid great stress on military formation and discipline. Sentries sounded the watch in his camp, and his officers had to sit up all night writing records and reports. But he had never come to grief either.

"Li Guang's army routine is certainly simple," said Cheng Bushi once. "But if the enemy launches a sudden attack, he will be at their mercy. Still, his troops have such an easy time of it that they would gladly die for him. Our army routine may be irksome, but the enemy will never catch us napping."



### 【原文】

犯我。”是时汉边郡李广、程不识皆为名将，然匈奴畏李广之略，士卒亦多乐从李广而苦程不识。程不识孝景时以数直谏为太中大夫。为人廉，谨于文法。

后汉以马邑城诱单于，使大军伏马邑旁谷，而广为骁骑将军，领属护军将军。是时单于觉之，去，汉军皆无功。其后四岁，广以卫尉为将军，出雁门击匈奴。匈奴兵多，破败广军，生得广。单于素闻广贤，令曰：“得李广必生致之。”胡骑得广，广时伤病，置广两马间，络而盛卧广。行十余里，广详死，睨其旁有一胡儿骑善马，广暂腾而上胡儿马，因推堕儿，取其弓，鞭马南驰数十里，复

### 【今译】

上的李广、程不识都是著名的将领，然而匈奴人畏惧李广的谋略，士兵们也大多乐意跟随李广而苦于跟随程不识。程不识在孝景帝时因为屡次直言进谏而担任了太中大夫。他为人廉正，谨守法令。

后来，汉朝用马邑城来引诱单于，派大军埋伏在马邑城旁边的山谷之中，而让李广做骁骑将军，归护军将军统领。这时单于发觉了便离开，汉军全都没有立下战功。这以后的第四年，李广由卫尉担任了将军，出兵雁门进击匈奴。匈奴的兵多，击败了李广的军队，生擒了李广。单于平素就听说李广很贤能，下令说：“抓到了李广一定要活着把他送来。”匈奴的骑兵抓住了李广，李广当时受伤害病，他们就把李广放在两马之间，用绳结成网把李广躺着装在里面。走了十多里地，李广佯装已死，斜着眼看到他旁边有个匈奴少年骑着匹好马，李广就突然跳起来，跨上那匈奴少年的马，顺势把他推下马，夺来他的弓箭，赶着马向南飞奔



Although both these men were famous generals of the frontier provinces, the Huns feared Li Guang's tactics and soldiers preferred to serve under him rather than under Cheng, who had a reputation for harshness. During Emperor Jing's time, Cheng Bushi had been made a grand counsellor because of the frank advice he gave on several occasions. He was scrupulously honest and a stickler for regulations and discipline.

Some time later an attempt was made to entice the Huns into the town of Mayi, and a large Han force was concealed in a neighbouring valley. Li Guang was appointed as General of the Valiant Cavalry under the command of Han Anguo, General of the Protecting Army. But the Hunnish khan discovered the trap and withdrew so that the Han troops had no chance to distinguish themselves.

Four years later Li Guang, then still a captain of the palace guard, was made a general and sent to attack the Huns beyond Yanmen. His army was outnumbered and routed but he was captured, for the khan, who had heard of his ability, had given orders that he must be taken alive.

When the Hunnish cavalry caught him he was wounded, so they laid him on a litter between two horses. They had covered more than ten *li* when Li Guang, who had shammed dead, saw through half-closed eyelids that a young Hun mounted on a fine horse was beside him. He leapt suddenly on to this horse, throwing down its young rider and snatching away his bow. Then he galloped south for several dozen



### 【原文】

得其余军，因引而入塞。匈奴捕者骑数百追之，广行取胡儿弓，射杀追骑，以故得脱。于是至汉，汉下广吏。吏当广所失亡多，为虏所生得，当斩，赎为庶人。

顷之，家居数岁。广家与故颍阴侯孙屏野居蓝田南山中射猎。尝夜从一骑出，从人田间饮。还至霸陵亭，霸陵尉醉，呵止广。广骑曰：“故李将军。”尉曰：“今将军尚不得夜行，何乃故也！”止广宿亭下。居无何，匈奴入杀辽西太守，败韩将军，韩将军徙右北平。于是天子乃召拜广为右北平太守。广即请霸陵尉与俱，至军而斩之。

### 【今译】

几十里，重又找到了他的残余军队，就率领他们进了边塞。匈奴追捕的骑兵有几百个，李广边跑边拿起那匈奴少年的弓箭，射死了追赶的骑兵，因此才得以逃脱。这样他回到了汉朝，汉朝廷把他交由法官治罪。法官判处李广损失、伤亡的人马太多，又被匈奴兵生擒过，就判为斩刑，他以财物赎罪被贬为平民。

转眼间，他闲居在家几年了。李广在家和前颍阴侯的孙子隐居蓝田县，他们到南山中去射猎。曾经有一天夜里带着一个骑士出行，跟人家在乡间饮酒。回来时走到霸陵亭，霸陵尉喝醉了，呵斥阻止李广。李广随从的骑士说：“这是前任的李将军。”霸陵尉就说：“现任将军尚且不得夜间通行，何况又是前任呢！”就把李广扣在霸陵亭下住了一宿。过了不久，匈奴人入侵杀了辽西太守，打败了韩将军，后来韩将军被调任到了右北平。这时天子就召来李广，任命他做了右北平太守。李广当即请求派霸陵尉和他一同去，一到军中就把他斩杀了。



Li until he found what was left of his troops and led them back inside the frontier. Several hundred Hunnish horsemen had galloped after him, but shooting with the Hun's bow as he rode he killed many of his pursuers and made good his escape.

Upon his return to the capital, he was tried. As he had lost many men and let himself be captured alive by the Huns, he was sentenced to death; but he was permitted to ransom himself and become a commoner.

He lived in retirement for a few years near the grandson of the former marquis of Yingyin in Lantian among the southern hills, where he devoted most of his time to hunting. One day he went out with an attendant and accepted an invitation to drink in a farm house, not returning to Baling watch station till it was dark. The constable guarding the station was drunk and yelled at him to halt.

"This is the former General Li," said Li Guang's man.

"Even an accredited general cannot wander about after dark," retorted the constable. "Much less a former general!" He detained Li Guang there.

Later the Huns crossed the border again, killed the governor of Liaoxi and defeated General Han Anguo, who withdrew to Youbeiping. Then the emperor made Li Guang the governor of Youbeiping. Li Guang asked to have the constable of Baling Station sent with him, and as soon as the man arrived he cut off his head.

## 【原文】

广居右北平，匈奴闻之，号曰“汉之飞将军”，避之数岁，不敢入右北平。广出猎，见草中石，以为虎而射之，中石没镞，视之石也。因复更射之，终不能复入石矣。广所居郡闻有虎，尝自射之。及居右北平射虎，虎腾伤广，广亦竟射杀之。

广廉，得赏赐辄分其麾下，饮食与士共之。终广之身，为二千石四十余年，家无余财，终不言家产事。广为人长，猿臂，其善射亦天性也，虽其子孙他人学者，莫能及广。广讷口少言，与人居则画地为军陈，射阔狭以饮。专以射为戏，竟死。广之将兵，乏绝之处，见水，士卒不尽饮，广不近水，士卒不尽食，广

## 【今译】

李广驻守右北平，匈奴人听说了，称他是“汉朝飞将军”，躲避他好几年，始终没敢入侵右北平。李广曾出外打猎，看见草中的石头，以为是老虎就去射它，射中了石头，箭头钻进了石头里，一看才知是石头。他就接着又射它，却始终再也不能射进石头里了。李广所在的郡中听说有老虎，他就曾经亲自去射过。等到他到了右北平射老虎时，老虎跃起来伤了李广，李广也还是最终把它射死了。

李广很清廉，受到了赏赐就分给他的部下，吃喝也和士兵们在一起。李广一生，担任二千石的高官达四十多年，家中并无多余的财产，始终不提及置办家产的事情。李广身材高大，长臂如猿，擅长射箭也是他的天性，即使他的子孙或别人跟他学，也没有人能赶得上他。李广口拙少言，和别人在一起时就在地上演画军阵，比试箭法疏密、准确，输了的罚酒。他专以射箭作游戏，一直到死。李广领兵，遇到缺水断粮之时，看到有水了，士兵们不全都喝过，李广就不靠近水边，士兵没全都吃过饭，李广就不



The Huns called Li Guang the “Winged General” of Han, and as long as he was governor they dared not invade Youbeiping.

Once when out hunting Li Guang shot a boulder in the grass which he mistook for a tiger, and the entire tip of his arrow was embedded in the rock. But when he realized what it was and shot again, he could not pierce the boulder. Whenever he heard of a tiger in the province where he was living, he would hunt it. In Youbeiping a tiger leapt at him and mauled him, but he finally succeeded in killing the beast.

Li Guang was open-handed. He divided all his rewards among his officers and ate the same food as his men. For over forty years his stipend was two thousand piculs a year, but he saved no money and never talked about property. He was tall and long-armed like an ape. His skill in archery can only be attributed to natural aptitude, for none of his descendants or others who learned bowmanship from him could equal him. He was a poor talker who had little to say. To pass the time with others he would draw military formations on the ground and compete in shooting at them: the losers had to drink. Indeed, up to the end of his life shooting was his sole recreation.

When Li Guang's troops were short of water and food, he would not drink until all his men had drunk, nor eat until they had eaten. And



### 【原文】

不尝食。宽缓不苛，士以此爱乐为用。其射，见敌急，非在数十步之内，度不中不发，发即应弦而倒。用此，其将兵数困辱，其射猛兽亦为所伤云。

居顷之，石建卒，于是上召广代建为郎中令。元朔六年，广复为后将军，从大将军军出定襄，击匈奴。诸将多中首虏率，以功为侯者，而广军无功。后二岁，广以郎中令将四千骑出右北平，博望侯张骞将万骑与广俱，异道。行可数百里，匈奴左贤王将四万骑围广，广军士皆恐，广乃使其子敢往驰之。敢独与数十骑驰，直贯胡骑，出其左右而还，告广曰：“胡虏易与耳。”军士乃安。广为圜

### 【今译】

去吃。他待人宽容和缓，从不苛刻，士兵们都因此爱戴他，乐于为他效力。他射箭时，一见敌人急冲过来，不到几十步之内，如果揣度射不中就从不发箭，一发箭敌人当即就会应声倒下。正因为如此，他统领军队屡次被困受辱，他射杀猛兽之时也曾被猛兽所伤。

过了不久，石建去世了，这时皇上就召李广去，代替石建做了郎中令。元朔六年（公元前123年），李广又再次担任了后将军，跟随大将军的军队出兵定襄，进击匈奴。各将中有很多人都因为杀死、俘虏敌人符合规定数额，按功劳而封为侯，可是李广的军队却没有战功。过了两年，李广作为郎中令统领四千骑兵从右北平出兵，博望侯张骞率一万骑兵和李广一同进军，分道而行。行军大约有几百里，匈奴左贤王率领四万骑兵包围了李广，李广的士兵全都很惊恐，李广就派了他儿子李敢飞驰前进。李敢独自带领几十个骑兵骑快马，直冲匈奴的骑兵，从敌人的左右两翼杀出跑回来了，向李广报告说：“匈奴人很容易对付。”士兵们



since he was lenient and generous to his troops, they served him loyally. In battle, he would not shoot until his adversary was within a few dozen paces and he could be sure of hitting him. Then as soon as his bowstring twanged the enemy fell. Because of this, he and his men were often worsted, just as he was often wounded by beasts in the chase.

When Shi Jian the captain of the palace guard died, the emperor appointed Li Guang in his place. In the sixth year of *Yuanshuo* he served again as rear general under Grand Marshal Wei Qing, advancing from Dingxiang to attack the Huns. Most of the other generals killed and captured enough foes to be made marquises for their services, but Li Guang's army met with no success.

Three years later Li Guang, still captain of the palace guard, advanced at the head of four thousand horsemen from Youbeiping, while Zhang Qian, the marquis of Bowang, led ten thousand cavalry by a different route. Li Guang had advanced several hundred *li* when he was surrounded by the Eastern Prince of the Huns with forty thousand horsemen. Seeing that his men were afraid, Li Guang ordered his son Li Gan to break through the enemy's ranks. Li Gan and a few dozen men galloped through the left and right flanks of the enemy lines, then returned to report, "These Huns are easy to handle!" At this the other soldiers took heart again.



### 【原文】

陈外向，胡急击之，矢下如雨。汉兵死者过半，汉矢且尽。广乃令士持满毋发，而广身自以大黄射其裨将，杀数人，胡虏益解。会日暮，吏士皆无人色，而广意气自如，益治军。军中自是服其勇也。明日，复力战，而博望侯军亦至，匈奴军乃解去。汉军罢，弗能追。是时广军几没，罢归。汉法，博望侯留迟后期，当死，赎为庶人。广军功自如，无赏。

初，广之从弟李蔡与广俱事孝文帝。景帝时，蔡积功劳至二千石。孝武帝时，至代相。以元朔五年为轻车将军，从大将军击右贤王，有功中率，封为乐安侯。元狩二年中，代公孙弘为丞相。蔡为

### 【今译】

这才安定了下来。李广摆成圆形阵势，面向外面，匈奴人猛攻他们，箭下如雨。汉军死掉大半，汉军的箭也要用尽了。李广就下令士兵拉着满弓，不要放箭，而他亲自用大黄弩射杀敌人副将，杀死了几个人，匈奴人就渐渐懈怠下去了。正值日暮时分，官兵全都面无人色，可李广依然是神态自若，更加注意整治好军队。军中从此都佩服他的勇气。第二天，继续奋力苦战，而博望侯的军队也赶到了，匈奴军队这才撤走。汉军很疲劳，没能去追击。这时李广的军队几乎是全军覆没，就收兵回朝。依照汉朝的法律，博望侯行动迟缓，耽误了约定的日期，被判死刑，后以财物赎罪做了平民。李广的军队功过相当，没有封赏。

当初，李广的堂弟李蔡和李广一同侍奉孝文帝。景帝时，李蔡积累功劳已官至两千石级。孝武帝时，他官至代国丞相。于元朔五年(公元前124年)担任轻车将军，跟随大将军攻打右贤王，立有战功，达到封赏标准，被封为乐安侯。元狩二年(公元前117年)中，他代替公孙弘做了丞相。李蔡的人品在下等的中间，名

Li Guang drew up his troops in a circle, the men facing outwards. The Huns attacked in force, arrows rained down; soon more than half of the Han soldiers had fallen, and their supply of arrows was nearly exhausted. Then Li Guang ordered his men to fit arrows to their bows but not to shoot. Meanwhile he aimed with his large yellow crossbow at the Hunnish leaders and killed several of them. After this the Huns attacked less fiercely. Night was falling and his officers and men were deathly pale but Li Guang remained calm and confident as he regrouped his forces. Ever after, he was a byword for courage in the army.

The next day they again fought desperately until Zhang Qian brought up reinforcements and the Huns retreated. The Han troops were too weary to give chase. Since Li Guang's men had nearly been wiped out, he gave up the fight and returned. According to the law, Zhang Qian should have been sentenced to death for arriving late; but he was permitted to ransom himself and become a commoner. Li Guang's achievement was cancelled out by his losses; hence he went unrewarded.

Li Guang's cousin Li Cai, who had also served as a palace guard in Emperor Wen's time, accumulated enough merit during the reign of Emperor Jing to rise to a post worth two thousand piculs a year, and under Emperor Wu he became the chief minister of Dai. In the fifth year of *Yuanshuo*, he served under Grand Marshal Wei Qing as General of the Light Chariots in an expedition against the Western Prince of the Huns. His services in this campaign entitled him to be ennobled as the marquis of Lean. In the second year of *Yuanshou*, he succeeded Gongsun Hong as prime minister. Li Cai had slightly less than average ability and



### 【原文】

人在下中，名声出广下甚远，然广不得爵邑，官不过九卿，而蔡为列侯，位至三公。诸广之军吏及士卒或取封侯。广尝与望气王朔燕语，曰：“自汉击匈奴而广未尝不在其中，而诸部校尉以下，才能不及中人，然以击胡军功取侯者数十人，而广不为后人，然无尺寸之功以得封邑者，何也？岂吾相不当侯邪？且固命也？”朔曰：“将军自念，岂尝有所恨乎？”广曰：“吾尝为陇西守，羌尝反，吾诱而降，降者八百余人，吾诈而同日杀之。至今大恨独此耳。”朔曰：“祸莫大于杀已降，此乃将军所以不得侯者也。”

后二岁，大将军、骠骑将军大出击匈奴，广数自请行。天子

### 【今译】

声在李广以下，相差甚远，然而李广却没有获得爵位和封邑，做官也没有超过九卿，可是李蔡却位居列侯，官居三公之列。许多李广手下的军官以及士兵也有人被封了侯。李广曾经和会占候术的王朔私下闲谈，说道：“从汉朝攻打匈奴起，我李广未尝不是在汉军之中，而各军中的校尉以下的人，他们的才能还赶不上中等的人，然而因为攻打匈奴获得军功而被封侯的，就有几十个人，而我并未落在人后面，却没有尺寸之功来取得封邑，这是为什么呢？难道是我的生相不该被封侯吗？还是命中注定的呢？”王朔就说：“将军您自己想一想，难道曾经有什么悔恨的事吗？”李广说：“我曾经担任陇西太守，羌人反叛过，我引诱他们投降，投降的有八百多人，我用欺诈的手段在同一天里把他们杀掉了。至今我最大的悔恨只有这件事。”王朔就说：“没有比杀害投降的人罪过更大的了，这就是将军您之所以未被封侯的原因了。”

两年以后，大将军、骠骑将军大举出兵攻打匈奴，李广屡次



was far less famous than his cousin, yet Li Guang was never awarded a fief nor promoted above the rank of a high minister, while Li Cai became a marquis and one of the three highest officials in the land. Even some of Li Guang's own officers and men became marquises.

Once Li Guang remarked in a casual conversation with the astrologer Wang Shuo, "I have been in every campaign waged against the Huns, yet while several dozen officers of no more than average ability have been made marquises for their services I have neither been cited for merit nor granted a fief, although I am not inferior to them. Why is this? Have I got the wrong face for a marquis? Or is this a matter of fate?"

"Can you remember doing anything you later regretted?" asked Wang Shuo.

"When I was governing Longxi and the Qiang tribes revolted, I tricked them into giving themselves up. But when more than eight hundred surrendered, I broke my promise to spare them and massacred them that same day. This is the one thing I really have on my conscience."

"Nothing can be worse than killing those who have surrendered," replied Wang Shuo. "That must be why you have never been made a marquis."

Two years later Grand Marshal Wei Qing and Huo Qubing, General of the Swift Cavalry, led a great expedition against the Huns. Li



### 【原文】

以为老，弗许；良久乃许之，以为前将军。是岁，元狩四年也。广既从大将军青击匈奴，既出塞，青捕虏知单于所居，乃自以精兵走之，而令广并于右将军军，出东道。东道少回远，而大军行水草少，其势不屯行。广自请曰：“臣部为前将军，今大将军乃徙令臣出东道，且臣结发而与匈奴战，今乃一得当单于，臣愿居前，先死单于。”大将军青亦阴受上诫，以为李广老，数奇，毋令当单于，恐不得所欲。而是时公孙敖新失侯，为中将军从大将军，大将军亦欲使敖与俱当单于，故徙前将军广。广时知之，固自辞于大将军。大将军不听，令长史封书与广之莫府，曰：“急诣部，如书。”广

### 【今译】

自动请求前往。天子认为他老了，没有答应；过了许久才答应了他，任命他做了前将军。这一年是元狩四年（公元前119年）。李广已经跟随大将军卫青出击匈奴了，出塞之后，卫青抓到俘虏得知单于所在的地方，就亲自率领精兵前往，而命令李广的军队并入右将军的军中，出兵东道。东道稍微迂回绕远，而大军又行经水草稀少的地方，形势不允许聚集行进。李广就自动请求说：“我身为前将军，如今大将军却改令我出兵东道，况且我从年轻时就和匈奴作战，如今才得以和单于对阵，我愿意打前阵，先去和单于决一死战。”大将军卫青曾暗中受皇上告诫，认为李广老了，屡次不走运，不要让他和单于对阵交锋，恐怕难以如愿以偿。而这个时候，公孙敖新近失掉了侯爵，担任中将军跟随大将军，大将军也想要让公孙敖和他共同来和单于对阵，因此就把前将军李广调离了。李广当时得知以后，就坚决向大将军陈情。大将军没有听从，命令长史下文书给李广军中的幕府，说：“赶快到军部



Guang begged several times to be sent with them, but the emperor considered him too old and only consented after a long time, appointing him as general of the vanguard. This took place in the fourth year of *Yuanshou*.

Li Guang was under Grand Marshal Wei Qing's command. After crossing the frontier they learned the whereabouts of the khan from some Hunnish captives, and Wei Qing decided to lead his best troops there directly, ordering Li Guang to join forces with Zhao Yiji, the general of the right, and advance by the eastern route. This route was slightly longer and, since little water or grass was to be had there, the army could not pass that way in force.

"My post is in the vanguard," protested Li Guang, "yet you are ordering me to take the eastern route. Though I have been fighting the Huns since I was a lad, this is the first time I have had a chance to encounter the khan himself. I beg to be allowed to ride in the vanguard and be the first to attack him."

But Wei Qing had received secret orders from the emperor not to let Li Guang engage the khan, because he was old, and his luck had always been bad, and therefore he might easily fail again. Moreover Gongsun Ao, who had just lost his marquisate, was serving as the general of the centre and Wei Qing wanted him to have this chance to fight the khan. That was why he had removed Li Guang from his post. Knowing this, Li Guang begged Wei Qing to reconsider the matter, but the grand marshal dispatched his chief officer to him with a sealed note ordering him to report to Zhao Yiji without delay.



### 【原文】

不谢大将军而起行，意甚愠怒而就部，引兵与右将军食其合军出东道。军亡导，或失道，后大将军。大将军与单于接战，单于遁走，弗能得而还。南绝幕，遇前将军、右将军。广已见大将军，还入军。大将军使长史持糒醪遗广，因问广、食其失道状，青欲上书报天子军曲折。广未对，大将军使长史急责广之幕府对簿。广曰：“诸校尉无罪，乃我自失道。吾今自上簿。”

至莫府，广谓其麾下曰：“广结发与匈奴大小七十余战，今幸从大将军出接单于兵，而大将军又徙广部行回远，而又迷失道，岂非天哉！且广年六十余矣，终不能复对刀笔之吏。”遂引刀自刭。

### 【今译】

去，照文书行事。”李广没有向大将军辞行就起兵前往了，心情很恼怒地赶到了军部，率领军队和右将军赵食其会合，出兵东道。大军没有向导，有时就迷失了道路，落在大将军后面。大将军和单于交战，单于逃跑了，汉军没能追上就回师了。向南越过沙漠后，遇到了前将军、右将军的部队。李广见过了大将军之后，就回到自己军中。大将军派长史拿着干粮和酒送给李广，顺便询问李广和赵食其迷失道路的情况，卫青想要上书向天子汇报军中行进的曲折原委。李广未做回答，大将军就派长史迅速责成李广的幕府人员听候审讯。李广说：“各位校尉无罪，是我自己迷失了道路。我现在就自己去对质候审。”

回到幕府后，李广就对他的部下说：“我从年轻时起和匈奴历经大小七十多次战斗，如今有幸能跟随大将军出兵，和单于的军队交战，而大将军又调我的部队走迂回绕远的路，又迷失了道路，这难道不是天意吗！况且我已经六十多岁了，终究不应再去面对那些刀笔小吏。”于是他就拔刀自刎了。李广军中的士大夫以



Li Guang stormed off without even taking leave of the grand marshal. He led his troops to join the general of the right and they set out by the eastern route. But having no guide, they lost the way and failed to meet the main force at the time appointed. When Wei Qing joined battle with the Huns, the khan fled, and they had to return without having captured him. Riding southward across the desert, Wei Qing met the troops of Li Guang and Zhao Yiji; and Li Guang, seeing the grand marshal, rejoined the main force.

Presently Wei Qing sent an officer with a gift of dried rice and wine to Li Guang. The man asked how he and Zhao Yiji had come to lose their way, as Wei Qing must send a detailed report of their misadventure to the emperor. Before Li Guang had time to explain, however, Wei Qing sent his chief officer to summon him to headquarters at once to stand trial.

"My lieutenants were not to blame," declared Li Guang. "I am the one responsible for losing the way. I shall answer for this myself before the tribunal."

When he reached headquarters he turned to his officers. "Since I was old enough to wear my hair bound up, I have fought more than seventy battles, great and small, against the Huns," he said. "This time I was fortunate enough to set out under Grand Marshal Wei Qing to fight the khan; but the grand marshal transferred me to another post and sent me by a longer route. And then I lost my way. This must be fate. I am over sixty now, too old to face up to the questions of these clerks." With that he drew his sword and cut his throat.

### 【原文】

广军士大夫一军皆哭。百姓闻之，知与不知，无老壮皆为垂涕。而右将军独下吏，当死，赎为庶人。

广子三人，曰当户、椒、敢，为郎。天子与韩嫣戏，嫣少不逊，当户击嫣，嫣走。于是天子以为勇。当户早死，拜椒为代郡太守，皆先广死。当户有遗腹子名陵。广死军时，敢从骠骑将军。广死明年，李蔡以丞相坐侵孝景园墻地，当下吏治，蔡亦自杀，不对狱，国除。李敢以校尉从骠骑将军击胡左贤王，力战，夺左贤王鼓旗，斩首多，赐爵关内侯，食邑二百户，代广为郎中令。顷之，怨大将军青之恨其父，乃击伤大将军，大将军匿讳

### 【今译】

及全军官兵都哭了。百姓们闻听此事，无论认识他或不认识他的，也无论是年老的还是年轻的，全都为他掉眼泪。而右将军独自被交由法官，判处死刑，因用钱物赎罪做了平民。

李广有三个儿子，叫李当户、李椒、李敢，担任郎官。天子曾经和韩嫣在一起戏耍，韩嫣稍有些不礼貌，李当户就打了韩嫣，韩嫣跑掉了。这样天子认为他很勇敢。李当户死得早，朝廷就任命李椒担任代郡太守，他们都比李广先死。李当户有个遗腹子名叫李陵。李广死在军中的时候，李敢正跟随骠骑将军。李广死的第二年，李蔡作为丞相，因侵占孝景帝陵园的空地犯了罪，理当交由法官治罪，李蔡也自杀了，不愿接受审问，封国被废除了。李敢作为校尉跟随骠骑将军攻击匈奴左贤王，奋力作战，夺得了左贤王的战鼓、帅旗，斩杀了很多敌人，被赐封关内侯的爵位，食邑二百户，接替李广担任了郎中令。不久，他怨恨大将军卫青使他父亲抱恨死去，就打伤了大将军，大将军隐瞒了这事。



All the officers and men of his army wept. And everyone in the land, old and young alike, those who had known him and those who had not, shed tears when they heard of his death. Zhao Yiji, the general of the right, was court-martialed and sentenced to death but permitted to ransom himself and become a commoner.

Li Guang had three sons, Li Danghu, Li Jiao and Li Gan, all of whom served as palace guards. One day when Emperor Wu was joking with his favourite, young Han Yan, the lad took such liberties that Li Danghu struck him and made him take to his heels. The emperor was impressed by his courage, but Li Danghu died early. Li Jiao became the governor of Daijun, but he also died before his father. A son named Li Ling was born to Li Danghu after his death. Li Gan was serving under Huo Qubing, General of Swift Cavalry, when Li Guang killed himself at the front.

The year after Li Guang's death Li Cai, then prime minister, was accused of encroaching upon the grounds of Emperor Jing's tomb. He committed suicide rather than suffer the indignity of a trial, and his fief was abolished.

Li Gan served as a colonel under General Huo in a campaign against the Eastern Prince of the Huns. He fought bravely, capturing the prince's drum and flag and killing many of the enemy. For these services he was made a marquis within the Pass, with the revenue of two hundred households, and succeeded Li Guang as captain of the palace guards.

Later Li Gan struck and injured Grand Marshal Wei Qing, whom he hated because of the wrong he had done his father, but Wei Qing hushed the matter up. Some time after this Li Gan accompanied the



### 【原文】

之。居无何，敢从上雍，至甘泉宫猎。骠骑将军去病与青有亲，射杀敢。去病时方贵幸，上讳云鹿触杀之。居岁余，去病死。而敢有女为太子中人，爱幸，敢男禹有宠于太子，然好利，李氏陵迟衰微矣。

李陵既壮，选为建章监，监诸骑。善射，爱士卒。天子以为李氏世将，而使将八百骑。尝深入匈奴二千余里，过居延视地形，无所见虏而还。拜为骑都尉，将丹阳楚人五千人，教射酒泉、张掖以屯卫胡。

数岁，天汉二年秋，贰师将军李广利将三万骑击匈奴右贤王于祁连天山，而使陵将其射士步兵五千人出居延北可千余里，欲

### 【今译】

过了没多久，李敢跟从皇上到雍地，跑到甘泉宫去打猎。骠骑将军霍去病和卫青有亲戚关系，就射死了李敢。霍去病当时正当显贵宠幸，皇上就隐瞒说是鹿撞死了他。过了一年多，霍去病去世。李敢有个女儿做了太子的宫女，受到宠爱，李敢的儿子李禹受到太子的宠爱，可他贪财好利，李氏就逐渐衰落了。

李陵长到成年后，被选拔担任了建章监，负责监察各处骑兵。他擅长射箭，爱护士卒。天子认为李氏世代为将，就派他统领八百名骑兵。他曾经深入匈奴境内二千多里，经过居延视察了地形，没发现有敌人，就回来了。被任命为骑都尉，统领丹阳的楚兵五千人，到酒泉、张掖去教习射箭，来驻守、防备匈奴。

几年以后，到了天汉二年(公元前99年)的秋天，贰师将军李广利率领三万骑兵到祁连天山攻打匈奴右贤王，而派李陵率领他的五千名步兵射手出兵居延以北大约一千多里，想以此来分散匈



emperor to Yong and, while they were hunting in the grounds of Ganquan Palace, Wei Qing's nephew Huo Qubing shot and killed Li Gan. But since General Huo was a favourite with the emperor, the matter was kept quiet and it was given out that Li Gan had been gored to death by a stag. A year or so later General Huo Qubing died.

Li Gan had a daughter who was the crown prince's favourite lady in waiting. His son Li Yu also enjoyed the prince's patronage, but he was a greedy, grasping man. Thus by degrees the house of Li declined.

When Li Ling grew up he was appointed superintendent of Jianzhang Palace, in charge of the cavalry. An excellent archer, he was good to his men. Since his forbears for several generations had been military officers, Emperor Wu put Li Ling at the head of eight hundred horsemen. Once he led his troops over two thousand *li* into Hunnish territory, passed Lake Juyan and observed the lie of the land, but came back without having encountered any Huns. On his return he was appointed a cavalry commander at the head of five thousand men of Danyang in Chu; and for several years he trained them in archery and settled them in Jiuquan and Zhangye to defend the border against the Huns.

In the autumn of the second year of *Tianhan*,<sup>2</sup> Li Guangli conqueror of Osrouchana led thirty thousand cavalry against the Western Prince of the Huns in the Qilian and Tianshan Mountains. Li Ling was ordered to advance over a thousand *li* north of Juyan with five thou-



## 【原文】

以分匈奴兵，毋令专走贰师也。陵既至期还，而单于以兵八万围击陵军。陵军五千人，兵矢既尽，士死者过半，而所杀伤匈奴亦万余人。且引且战，连斗八日，还未到居延百余里，匈奴遮狭绝道，陵食乏而救兵不到，虏急击招降陵。陵曰：“无面目报陛下。”遂降匈奴。其兵尽没，余亡散得归汉者四百余人。

单于既得陵，素闻其家声，及战又壮，乃以其女妻陵而贵之。汉闻，族陵母妻子。自是之后，李氏名败，而陇西之士居门下者皆用为耻焉。

太史公曰：《传》曰：“其身正，不令而行；其身不正，虽令

## 【今译】

奴的兵力，不使他们专心去追赶贰师将军。李陵到了约定的期限回师，而单于用八万兵力围攻李陵的军队。李陵的军队有五千人，弓箭都已用光，士兵战死了大半，而他们杀伤的匈奴兵也有一万多人。一边撤退，一边战斗，一连战斗了八天，往回走到离居延不到一百多里，匈奴人拦阻住狭窄的通道，截断了归路，李陵军队粮食缺乏而救兵又没赶到，匈奴人加紧攻打，要李陵投降。李陵说：“我没有面目去回报陛下了。”于是就投降了匈奴。他的部队全军覆没，逃亡、散失得以回到汉朝的有四百多人。

单于得到李陵之后，平素听说过他家的名声，作战时又很勇猛，就把他的女儿嫁给李陵使他显贵起来。汉朝听说后，就族诛了李陵的母亲、妻子和儿女。从这以后，李氏声名败落，而居于李氏门下的陇西的士人都因此感到耻辱。

太史公说：《传》中说：“为官的行为端正，不用下令，人们



sand archers and infantrymen to divert the Huns and prevent them from concentrating their forces against General Li Guangli.

Li Ling reached his objective, but as he was returning his troops were surrounded by eighty thousand Huns. He had only five thousand men, and soon their arrows were exhausted and more than half of them had fallen; yet they killed and wounded over ten thousand of the enemy, fighting a running battle for eight days as they withdrew.

About a hundred *li* from Juyan, their road was cut by the Huns in a narrow glen. All their food was gone, there was no help at hand, and the enemy pressed their attack, calling upon them to surrender. "I could never face the emperor to report this!" cried Li Ling. And he surrendered to the Huns. His army was destroyed, only four hundred or so surviving to return.

The Hunnish khan, who had always admired Li Ling's family and had been impressed by the fight he put up, married his daughter to him and made him a noble. But when the emperor knew of this, Li Ling's mother, wife and son were executed. After this the whole family was disgraced, and the gentlemen of Longxi who had been Li Ling's protégés bowed their heads in shame.

The Grand Historian comments: We read in the classics, "If a man is straight, others will follow him without being told. If he is not, no

### 【原文】

不从。”其李将军之谓也？余睹李将军悛悛如鄙人，口不能道辞。及死之日，天下知与不知，皆为尽哀。彼其忠实心诚信于士大夫也？谚曰“桃李不言，下自成蹊”。此言虽小，可以喻大也。

### 【今译】

也会遵守执行；为官的行为不端正，即使下了令，人们也不会听从。”这难道说的是李将军吗？我见李将军谦恭谨慎，像个乡里人，口不善言语。等到他死的那天，天下人无论了解他或是不了解他的，全都为他极尽悲哀。是他的忠厚诚实之心取信于士大夫了吧？谚语说“桃李不言，下自成蹊”。这话虽说得浅显，却可以用来说明大道理。

amount of orders will make them follow him.” This applies to General Li Guang.

I found him as unassuming as a simple farmer, hardly able to get a word out. Yet the day that he died his sincerity and honesty had so impressed men that, whether they knew him or not, all mourned deeply for him. The proverb says, “The peach and plum trees cannot speak, yet a path is trodden out to them.” This simple saying conveys a wealth of meaning.

<sup>1</sup> 166 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> 99 B.C.





## 淮南衡山列传

### 【原文】

淮南厉王长者，高祖少子也，其母故赵王张敖美人。高祖八年，从东垣过赵，赵王献之美人。厉王母得幸焉，有身。赵王敖弗敢内宫，为筑外宫而舍之。及贯高等谋反柏人事发觉，并逮治王，尽收捕王母兄弟美人，系之河内。厉王母亦系，告吏曰：“得幸上，有身。”吏以闻上，上方怒赵王，未理厉王母。厉王母弟赵兼因辟阳侯言吕后，吕后妒，弗肯白，辟阳侯不强争。及厉王母已生厉王，恚，即自杀。吏奉厉王诣上，上悔，令吕后母之，

### 【今译】

淮南厉王刘长，是高祖的小儿子，他的母亲是原赵王张敖的美人。高祖八年（公元前199年）时，刘邦由东垣县经过赵国，赵王把他的美人献给了高祖。厉王的母亲得以受到高祖宠幸，有了身孕。赵王张敖不敢接纳她入宫，就为她在宫外修筑宫室给她住。等到贯高等人在柏人县谋反的事被发觉，汉朝一并把赵王抓来治罪，尽数拘捕了他的母亲、兄弟以及妃嫔美人，囚禁到河内郡。厉王的母亲也被囚禁，她告诉狱官说：“我得到皇上宠幸，有了身孕。”狱官把这事报告给皇上，皇上正对赵王恼怒，就没理会厉王的母亲。厉王母亲的弟弟赵兼通过辟阳侯告知吕后，吕后生性嫉妒，不肯去讲情，辟阳侯也不去强为力争。等到厉王的母亲生下了厉王，心中恼恨，就自杀了。官吏把厉王呈给皇上，皇上后悔了，就让吕后做了他的母亲，而把厉王的生母葬在了真



## The Princes of Huainan and Hengshan

Liu Chang, Prince Li of Huainan, was one of Emperor Gaozu's younger sons. His mother had been a court lady of Zhang Ao, the former prince of Zhao. In the eighth year of his reign,<sup>1</sup> when Emperor Gaozu went from Dongyuan to Zhao, the prince of Zhao presented her to him. She was favoured by the emperor and conceived. The prince of Zhao did not dare to keep her in his palace, but built another palace for her.

When Guan Gao and others plotted treason at Boren and were discovered, the prince of Zhao was also seized and tried, while his mother, brothers and court ladies, including Liu Chang's mother, were imprisoned at Henei. She told the officers that she was carrying the emperor's child, but when they reported this Emperor Gaozu was so enraged with the prince of Zhao that he ignored the matter. Her brother Zhao Jian sent word by the marquis of Piyang to Empress Lü, but the jealous empress would not speak up for her and the marquis did not insist.

As soon as Liu Chang was born, his mother killed herself in anger. The officers took the child to the emperor, who, filled with remorse, ordered Empress Lü to rear it and had the mother buried in Zhending

### 【原文】

而葬厉王母真定。真定，厉王母之家在焉，父世县也。

高祖十一年七月，淮南王黥布反，立子长为淮南王，王黥布故地，凡四郡。上自将兵击灭布，厉王遂即位。厉王蚤失母，常附吕后，孝惠、吕后时以故得幸无患害，而常心怨辟阳侯，弗敢发。及孝文帝初即位，淮南王自以为最亲，骄蹇，数不奉法。上以亲故，常宽赦之。三年，入朝，甚横。从上入苑囿猎，与上同车，常谓上“大兄”。厉王有材力，力能扛鼎，乃往请辟阳侯。辟阳侯出见之，即自袖铁椎椎辟阳侯，令从者魏敬刭之。厉王乃驰走阙下，肉袒谢曰：“臣母不当坐赵事，其时辟阳侯力能得之吕后，弗争，罪

### 【今译】

定。真定是厉王母亲的家所在之地，是祖辈世代居住的县。

高祖十一年七月（公元前196年），淮南王黥布反叛，高祖就立儿子刘长为淮南王，统治黥布原来的地区，总共四个郡。皇上亲自率领军队攻灭了黥布，厉王于是就即了王位。厉王很早就失去了母亲，常常依附于吕后，孝惠帝和吕后时期，因依附于吕后的缘故，没有生出祸害，而他时常心中怨恨辟阳侯，但没敢报复。到了孝文帝刚刚即位时，淮南王自以为和皇上最为亲近，骄横不服，屡屡不遵法令。皇上因为至亲的缘故，时常宽恕、赦免他。文帝三年（公元前177年），他进京朝见，态度甚为骄横。他跟从皇上进苑囿打猎，和皇上同乘一辆车，时常称呼皇上为“大哥”。厉王很有才能和勇力，力能扛鼎，于是就前去拜见辟阳侯。辟阳侯出来见他，他当即甩出袖中的铁椎去椎击辟阳侯，而命令随从魏敬割下他的头。厉王于是就快马跑到宫门下，裸露身体谢罪说：“我母亲不应当被牵连到赵王谋反的事上，那时候辟阳侯有能力取得吕后的许可，却不去力争，这是第一条罪责。赵王



where her family had lived for generations.

In the tenth month of the eleventh year of Emperor Gaozu, Ying Bu the prince of Huainan rebelled, and Liu Chang was made prince in his place to rule the four provinces which had belonged to him. His rule began after Emperor Gaozu led troops in person to wipe out the rebels. Since Liu Chang had lost his mother and was close to Empress Lü, he was favoured and came to no harm during the reigns of Emperor Hui and Empress Lü. Resentment rankled in his heart against the marquis of Piyang, but he dared not disclose his feelings.

When Emperor Wen first came to the throne, the prince of Huainan behaved in a proud, overbearing manner because he was next of kin, often breaking the law. But since they were brothers the emperor pardoned him.

In the third year he came to court and conducted himself in the most presumptuous manner. Hunting with the emperor in the imperial park, he rode in the same carriage and addressed him as "Elder Brother".

The prince was a powerful man, strong enough to lift a bronze cauldron. He went to call on the marquis of Piyang and, when the latter came out to see him, struck him with an iron hammer which he had concealed in his sleeve, then ordered his follower Wei Jing to cut off his head. The prince then rode to court and, baring his left arm, apologized.

"My mother was not involved in Zhao's conspiracy, and the marquis of Piyang could have interceded successfully for her with the empress, but he let the matter slide. That was his first crime. Prince Ruyi

### 【原文】

一也。赵王如意子母无罪，吕后杀之，辟阳侯弗争，罪二也。吕后王诸吕，欲以危刘氏，辟阳侯弗争，罪三也。臣谨为天下诛贼臣辟阳侯，报母之仇，谨伏阙下请罪。”孝文伤其志，为亲故，弗治，赦厉王。当是时，薄太后及太子诸大臣皆惮厉王，厉王以此归国益骄恣，不用汉法，出入称警跸，称制，自为法令，拟于天子。

六年，令男子但等七十人与棘蒲侯柴武太子奇谋，以辇车四十乘反谷口，令人使闽越、匈奴。事觉，治之，使使召淮南王。淮南王至长安。

“丞相臣张仓、典客臣冯敬、行御史大夫事宗正臣逸、廷尉臣贺、备盗贼中尉臣福昧死言：淮南王长废先帝法，不听天子诏，居

### 【今译】

如意母子没有罪，吕后杀害他们，辟阳侯不去力争，是第二条罪责。吕后让吕氏诸人称王，想要危害刘氏，辟阳侯也不力争，这是第三条罪责。我为天下人诛杀了贼臣辟阳侯，报了母亲的大仇，谨伏身于宫门下请求治罪。”孝文帝怜悯他的心志，又因为是皇亲的缘故，没有治罪，赦免了厉王。正当此时，薄太后以及太子和各位大臣全都畏惧厉王，厉王因此回国后日益骄纵恣肆，不采用汉朝法令，出入时清道戒严，称做警跸，将政令称为制，自己制定法令，比拟于汉天子。

文帝六年(公元前174年)，他让男子但等七十人去和棘蒲侯柴武的太子柴奇密谋，以四十辆马车在谷口反叛，派人去出使闽越和匈奴。事情被发觉，汉朝追究这事，就派使臣召见淮南王。淮南王到了长安。

“丞相臣张仓、典客臣冯敬、行御史大夫事宗正臣逸、廷尉贺、备盗贼中尉臣福冒死进言：淮南王刘长废弃先帝法令，不听



of Zhao and his mother were innocent, but Empress Lü had them killed and the marquis did nothing to save them. That was his second crime. When Empress Lü endangered the imperial house of Liu by making her kinsmen princes, the marquis did not protest. That was his third crime. Now I have killed this traitor for the state and avenged my mother. I bow before the court and beg to be punished."

Because he had his reasons and they were brothers, the emperor pardoned him.

At this time Empress Bo, the crown prince and all the chief ministers went in fear of the prince of Huainan. After his return to his principality he grew even more high-handed. He ignored the laws of the land, usurped the imperial prerogatives when he entered or left the palace, and issued his own decrees, all as if he were the emperor.

In the sixth year, he sent Dan and seventy other men to plot rebellion with Qi, the son of Chai Wu, the marquis of Jipu. They drove in forty large carriages to Gukou. Envoys were also sent to approach the tribes of Minyue and the Huns. The plot was discovered and investigated, and the prince was summoned to the capital.

When the prince reached Chang'an, the prime minister Zhang Cang, the master of ceremony Feng Jing, the clan officer and acting chief counsellor Yi, the chief justice He, and Fu the metropolitan commander in charge of suppressing rebels, presented this memorial to the throne:

Liu Chang, the prince of Huainan, has broken the laws of the late



### 【原文】

处无度，为黄屋盖乘舆，出入拟于天子，擅为法令，不用汉法。及所置吏，以其郎中春为丞相，聚收汉诸侯人及有罪亡者，匿与居，为治家室，赐其财物爵禄田宅，爵或至关内侯，奉以二千石，所不当得，欲以有为。大夫但、士五开章等七十人与棘蒲侯太子奇谋反，欲以危宗庙社稷。使开章阴告长，与谋使闽越及匈奴发其兵。开章之淮南见长，长数与坐语饮食，为家室娶妇，以二千石俸奉之。开章使人告但，已言之王。春使使报但等。吏觉知，使长安尉奇等往捕开章。长匿不予，与故中尉简忌谋，杀以闭口。为棺椁衣衾，葬之肥陵邑，漫吏曰‘不知安在’。又详聚土，树表其上，曰

### 【今译】

从天子诏令，居处没有法度，建造黄盖车乘，出入比拟于汉天子，擅自制定法令，不采用汉朝法规。至于他所设置的官吏，让他的郎中春担任丞相，聚集、收拢汉朝诸侯国的人以及有罪逃亡的人，隐藏起来，安排住所，替他们治理家室，赐给他们财物、爵位、俸禄和田宅，爵位有的达到了关内侯，尊奉为两千石的大官，这些都是些不该得官位的人，淮南王是想让他们去办事。大夫但、士五开章等七十人和棘蒲侯的太子柴奇密谋反叛，想要危害王室宗庙和国家社稷。他们派开章暗地里告知刘长，和他谋划让闽越以及匈奴发动他们的军队。开章到淮南去见刘长，刘长多次和他对坐交谈、吃喝，给他置办家室、娶妻子，拿二千石的官俸尊奉他。开章派人去告知但，已经和淮南王说过那事。春派使者通报但等人。官吏发觉，知晓了这事，派长安县尉奇等人前往捉拿开章。刘长藏匿着不交出来，和原中尉简忌密谋，杀掉开章以灭口。他们置办棺椁衣被，把他安葬在肥陵邑，欺瞒官吏说‘不知道人在哪里’。又佯装堆聚土堆，在那上面竖立标志，说是



emperor and disobeyed Your Majesty's orders. His whole way of life is completely unrestrained, for he has adopted a yellow canopy and imperial equipage and goes about as if he were the emperor. He has issued his own decrees, ignoring the laws of the land, and has outstepped his station by appointing his palace guard Chun as prime minister. He has gathered together men from the various fiefs of Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) as well as fugitives from justice, and is giving them shelter, supplying them with houses, granting them money, goods, ranks, salaries and landed property, even enfeoffing some of them as marquises with a two thousand piculs stipend. He has done all these wrong things with a definite purpose.

His minister Dan with seventy others including Kai Zhang, a retired officer, plotted rebellion with Qi, heir of the marquis of Jipu, to endanger our state. Kai Zhang was sent in secret to report this to the prince of Huainan, that he might join in the conspiracy and send envoys to the Minyue tribes and the Huns to enlist their support. When Kai Zhang reached Huainan, the prince granted him several audiences, feasted him and gave him a house, a wife and a salary of two thousand piculs. Then Kai Zhang sent to tell Dan that he had spoken to the prince. And prime minister Chun dispatched messengers to Dan and the others.

The authorities, discovering this plot, sent Qi the military tribune of Chang'an and others to arrest Kai Zhang. But the prince concealed him and would not hand him over. He arranged with his former military tribune Jian Ji to murder Kai Zhang in order to stop him from talking. A coffin and grave clothes were supplied and the corpse was buried at Feiling, while the prince denied all knowledge of Kai Zhang's whereabouts. Then, to trick the authorities, he made a grave mound bearing the inscription: Here Kai Zhang is buried.

### 【原文】

‘开章死，埋此下’。及长身自贼杀无罪者一人；令吏论杀无罪者六人；为亡命弃市罪诈捕命者以除罪；擅罪人，罪人无告劾，系治城旦春以上十四人；赦免罪人，死罪十八人，城旦春以下五十八人；赐人爵关内侯以下九十四人。前日长病，陛下忧苦之，使使者赐书、枣脯。长不欲受赐，不肯见拜使者。南海民处庐江界中者反，淮南吏卒击之。陛下以淮南民贫苦，遣使者赐长帛五千匹，以赐吏卒劳苦者。长不欲受赐，谩言曰‘无劳苦者’。南海民王织上书献璧皇帝，忌擅燔其书，不以闻。吏请召治忌，长不遣，谩言曰‘忌病’。春又请长，愿入见，长怒曰‘女欲离我自附汉’。长当弃市，臣请论如法。”

### 【今译】

‘开章已死，埋在下面’。还有刘长亲手杀害了无罪者一人；命令官吏判罪处死无罪者六人；替犯有死罪的亡命之徒做假，捕来并非逃亡的人来抵除他们的罪责；擅自判人有罪，加罪于人又不向朝廷告发，拘押并治以城旦、春以上刑罚的有十四人；赦免有罪之人，其中犯有死罪的十八人，城旦、春以下责罚的有五十八人；赐封给人爵位，关内侯以下的有九十四人。前些日子刘长生病，陛下为他忧劳苦闷，派使者赏赐书信和枣脯。刘长不愿接受赏赐，不肯接见、拜会使者。庐江界内居住的南海民众造反，淮南的官兵攻打他们。陛下认为淮南百姓贫苦，就派使者赏赐刘长五千匹帛，用以分赏官兵中的劳苦之人。刘长不愿接受赏赐，就欺骗说‘没有劳苦的人’。南海平民王织上书要奉献璧玉给皇帝，简忌擅自烧毁了他的文书，不把这事上报朝廷。官吏请求把简忌召来惩治，刘长不让他去，欺骗说‘简忌病了’。春又请求刘长，希望进见，刘长大怒说‘你想要离开我，自己去归附汉朝’。刘长的罪当判处斩首示众，我们请求依法论处。”



Liu Chang has also killed an innocent man, ordered his officers to condemn six others to death, and arrested men to take the place of fugitives from justice who deserved death, letting those felons go free. He has condemned men without the court's permission, sentencing fourteen men to hard labour and other punishments. He has pardoned criminals, including eighteen who deserved death and fifty-eight who had been sentenced to hard labour, pounding rice and other punishments. He has bestowed titles up to the rank of a marquis on ninety-four men.

Not long ago when Liu Chang was ill, Your Majesty in concern sent an envoy to him with a letter and some preserved jujubes. But Liu Chang refused the gift and would not receive the envoy.

When the officers and men of Huainan quelled the revolt of the people of Nanhai who had been moved to Lujiang, Your Majesty out of compassion for their poverty sent an envoy to the prince with five thousand rolls of silk to recompense the officers and men for their exertions. But again Liu Chang refused the gift and lied, "No one here has suffered any hardships."

When Wang Zhi of Nanhai sent a jade disc and a letter to the emperor, Jian Ji the metropolitan tribune burned the letter and did not report the matter. The authorities asked for Jian Ji to put him on trial, but the prince would not hand him over, making out that he was ill.

When his prime minister Chun asked permission to come to court, the prince stormed at him, "Do you want to leave me and go over to Han?"

Liu Chang should be executed in the market-place. We beg that this be done according to the law.

## 【原文】

制曰：“朕不忍致法于王，其与列侯二千石议。”

“臣仓、臣敬、臣逸、臣福、臣贺昧死言：臣谨与列侯吏二千石臣婴等四十三人议，皆曰‘长不奉法度，不听天子诏，乃阴聚徒党及谋反者，厚养亡命，欲以有为’。臣等议论如法。”

制曰：“朕不忍致法于王，其赦长死罪，废勿王。”

“臣仓等昧死言：长有大死罪，陛下不忍致法，幸赦，废勿王。臣请处蜀郡严道邛邮，遣其子母从居，县为筑盖家室，皆廪食给薪菜盐豉炊食器席蓐。臣等昧死请，请布告天下。”

制曰：“计食长给肉日五斤，酒二斗。令故美人才人得幸者十

## 【今译】

皇帝下诏令说：“朕不忍心法办淮南王，请你们去和列侯、二千石级官吏们商议。”

“臣仓、臣敬、臣逸、臣福、臣贺冒死进言：我们谨和列侯以及二千石级官员臣婴等四十三人商议，他们都说‘刘长不遵守法令制度，不听从天子诏令，竟然暗中集聚党徒以及谋反之人，优厚地豢养亡命之徒，想要有所举动’。我们商议要依法论处。”

皇上下命令说：“朕不忍心法办淮南王，希望还是赦免刘长死罪，废去王位，不再做王了。”

“臣仓等人冒死进言：刘长犯有大罪，当死。陛下不忍心法办，施恩赦免他，废掉他的王位。我们请求把他安置到蜀郡严道的邛邮居住，遣送有孩子的姬妾随去同住，县里为他修筑房舍，官家供应给粮食、柴、菜、盐、豆豉以及炊食器具和卧席、蓐草。我们冒死请求，请予以告知天下人。”

皇帝下命令说：“朝廷供给刘长肉食每天五斤，酒两斗。让他



The emperor decreed, "We cannot bear to punish the prince according to the law. Discuss the matter further with the feudal lords and ministers of the two thousand piculs rank."

They presented another memorial:

Your subjects Cang, Jin, Yi, Fu and He, make this report at the risk of death. We have discussed the matter with the feudal lords and ministers of the two thousand piculs rank, including Marquis Xiahou Ying and others, forty-three in all. They agree that the prince of Huainan has broken the law and disobeyed Your Majesty's orders.

He has secretly gathered followers and conspirators, he has used his wealth to keep fugitives from justice and to plot treason. We recommend that he be punished according to the law.

The emperor decreed, "We cannot bear to punish the prince according to the law. Let him be spared the death penalty but deprived of his rank as a prince."

Then the ministers replied:

Your subjects Cang and the others make this report at the risk of death. The prince of Huainan deserves the death penalty, but unwilling to enforce the rigour of the law Your Majesty has pardoned him, depriving him only of his rank as a prince. We suggest that he be exiled to Qiong Station in Yandao in the province of Shu, accompanied by his children and their mothers. The district authorities can build him a house and supply him with food, providing him with firewood, vegetables, salted beans, cooking utensils, mats and bedding. Deserving death for our presumption, we beg that this be announced throughout the empire!

The emperor decreed, "Regarding food for Liu Chang, let him be given five catties of meat a day and two measures of wine. Let ten

**【原文】**

人从居。他可。”

尽诛所与谋者。于是乃遣淮南王，载以輶车，令县以次传。是时袁盎谏上曰：“上素骄淮南王，弗为置严傅相，以故至此。且淮南王为人刚，今暴摧折之，臣恐卒逢雾露病死。陛下为有杀弟之名，奈何！”上曰：“吾特苦之耳，今复之。”县传淮南王者皆不敢发车封。淮南王乃谓侍者曰：“谁谓乃公勇者？吾安能勇！吾以骄故不闻吾过至此。人生一世间，安能邑邑如此！”乃不食死。至雍，雍令发封，以死闻。上哭甚悲，谓袁盎曰：“吾不听公言，卒亡淮南王。”盎曰：“不可奈何，愿陛下自宽。”上曰：“为之奈

**【今译】**

原先的美人、才人中受过宠幸的十人随同去居住。其它的均准奏。”

朝廷尽数诛杀了所有参与密谋的人。这之后便遣送淮南王，用輶车载运，下令各县依次传递。这个时候，袁盎劝谏皇上说：“皇上素来骄纵淮南王，没给他设置严于辅政的太傅、丞相，因此才到了这个地步。况且淮南王为人刚烈，如今突遭摧折，我担心会猝然遭逢雾露风寒而病死，陛下将会有杀害兄弟的名声，怎么办！”皇上说：“我正是为这件事苦恼呢，如今就让他回来。”各县传递淮南王的人全都不敢打开车乘的封门。淮南王就对侍从们说：“谁说你老子勇猛？我还怎么能勇猛！我因为骄横的缘故，听不到我的过失，以至于此。人生一世，怎么能如此地悒悒愁闷呢！”于是就绝食而死。到了雍县，雍县县令打开封门，把淮南王的死讯上报朝廷。皇上大哭，甚为悲痛，对袁盎说：“我没有听从您的话，终于使淮南王死了。”袁盎说：“已经无可奈何了，希望陛下自己宽慰一下。”皇上问：“这事怎么办呢？”袁盎答道：“只



ladies who have won his favour also join him. For the rest, it shall be as you propose. Let all the conspirators be executed."

Then the prince of Huainan was sent off in a covered carriage, and the district authorities were ordered to pass him on from one station to another.

Yuan Ang remonstrated with the emperor, saying, "Your Majesty has always spoilt the prince of Huainan, not appointing strict tutors and ministers for him. That is how this came about. Moreover, the prince is proud and stubborn. Now that you have suddenly crushed him, I am afraid he may die on this difficult journey. What if you are accused of fratricide?"

"I am doing this to teach him a lesson," replied the emperor. "I shall soon reinstate him."

The district authorities through whose hands the prince passed were too afraid to open up the sealed carriage.

"Who calls me a brave fellow?" the prince of Huainan asked his attendants, "What courage can I show now? In my pride, I never realized the extent of my fault. What man could bear to live on wretchedly like this?" He refused all food and died.

When his carriage reached Yong, the local magistrate broke open the seals and reported the prince's death.

The emperor wept bitterly. "By ignoring your advice I have lost the prince of Huainan," he told Yuan Ang.

"It cannot be helped now," replied Yuan Ang. "Your Majesty must not take it too much to heart."

"What should I do now?" asked the emperor.

### 【原文】

何？”盎曰：“独斩丞相、御史以谢天下乃可。”上即令丞相、御史逮捕拷问各县传送淮南王而不打开封门、不送食物的人，全都斩首示众。于是以列侯的礼仪将淮南王葬于雍地，让三十户人家看守坟墓。

孝文八年，上怜淮南王，淮南王有子四人，皆七八岁，乃封子安为阜陵侯，子勃为安阳侯，子赐为阳周侯，子良为东成侯。

孝文十二年，民有作歌歌淮南厉王曰：“一尺布，尚可缝；一斗粟，尚可舂。兄弟二人不能相容。”上闻之，乃叹曰：“尧舜放逐骨肉，周公杀管蔡，天下称圣。何者？不以私害公。天下岂以我为贪淮南王地邪？”乃徙城阳王王淮南故地，而追尊谥淮南王为厉王，置园复如诸侯仪。

### 【今译】

“有斩了丞相、御史来向天下人谢罪才可以。”皇上就下令丞相、御史逮捕拷问各县传送淮南王而不打开封门、不送食物的人，全都斩首示众。于是以列侯的礼仪将淮南王葬于雍地，让三十户人家看守坟墓。

孝文帝八年(公元前172年)，皇上怜惜淮南王，淮南王有四个儿子，全都七八岁，于是就封他的儿子刘安为阜陵侯，儿子刘勃为安阳侯，儿子刘赐为阳周侯，儿子刘良为东成侯。

孝文帝十二年(公元前168年)，民间有人编歌谣唱淮南厉王道：“一尺布，还可缝；一斗粟，还能舂。兄弟两人不能相容。”皇上闻听，就长叹道：“尧舜放逐兄弟骨肉，周公诛杀管叔、蔡叔，天下称他们是圣人。什么原因呢？是因为他们不以私利损害公利。天下人难道认为我是贪图淮南王的土地吗？”于是就迁调城阳王去统治淮南王原来的地区，追尊淮南王，加谥号为厉王，设置陵园仍依照诸侯礼仪。



"The only way to propitiate the empire is to execute the prime minister and chief counsellor."

But the emperor ordered the prime minister and chief counsellor to punish all the local officials along the way who had failed to open the prince's carriage or supply him with food and attendants, and all of them were publicly executed. The prince of Huainan was buried at Yong with the funeral rites of a marquis, and thirty households were appointed to take charge of his tomb.

In the eighth year of his reign Emperor Wen, still grieving over the prince of Huainan, ennobled his four sons who were all about seven or eight years old at that time. Liu An was enfeoffed as marquis of Fuling, Liu Bo as marquis of Anyang, Liu Ci as marquis of Yangzhou, and Liu Liang as marquis of Dongcheng.

In the twelfth year of Emperor Wen, the people made up this song about the prince of Huainan:

A single foot of cloth can be sewn,  
A single peck of millet hulled;  
But an elder and younger brother  
Can never abide each other.

The emperor sighed when he heard this and said, "When Yao and Shun exiled their own flesh and blood and the duke of Zhou killed Guan and Cai,<sup>2</sup> the whole world called them sages. For they would not let private sentiment interfere with the public good. Does the world really believe that I coveted the land of the prince of Huainan?" He made the prince of Chengyang take over the former kingdom of Huainan and gave the prince of Huainan the posthumous title of Li, laying out a Walled garden round his tomb as befitted a prince.



## 【原文】

孝文十六年，徙淮南王喜复故城阳。上怜淮南厉王废法不轨，自使失国蚤死，乃立其三子：阜陵侯安为淮南王，安阳侯勃为衡山王，阳周侯赐为庐江王，皆复得厉王时地，参分之。东城侯良前薨，无后也。

孝景三年，吴楚七国反，吴使者至淮南，淮南王欲发兵应之。其相曰：“大王必欲发兵应吴，臣愿为将。”王乃属相兵。淮南相已将兵，因城守，不听王而为汉；汉亦使曲城侯将兵救淮南：淮南以故得完。吴使者至庐江，庐江王弗应，而往来使越。吴使者至衡山，衡山王坚守无二心。孝景四年，吴楚已破，衡山王朝，上以为贞信，乃劳苦之曰：“南方卑湿。”徙衡山王王济北，所以褒之。

## 【今译】

孝文帝十六年(公元前164年)，迁调淮南王刘喜仍做原先的城阳王。皇上怜惜淮南厉王废弃法令，图谋不轨，自己落得失掉封国，过早死去，就立他的三个儿子：阜陵侯刘安为淮南王，安阳侯刘勃为衡山王，阳周侯刘赐为庐江王，全都又获得了厉王时的封地，三人分治。东城侯刘良在这之前去世，没有后代。

孝景帝三年(公元前154年)，吴楚七国反叛，吴国使者到淮南，淮南王想要发兵响应他们。他的国相说道：“大王您若是要发兵响应吴国，我愿意做将领。”淮南王就把军队交给了相。淮南相领了兵，就修城固守，不听从淮南王的命令而向着汉朝；汉朝也派出曲城侯领兵救援淮南国：淮南国因此才得以保全。吴国使者到庐江国，庐江王没有答应，却派使者与越地相往来。吴国使者到了衡山国，衡山王坚决固守，并无二心。孝景帝四年(公元前153年)，吴国、楚国已被击破，衡山王朝见，皇上认为他坚贞忠信，于是就慰劳他说：“南方地势低，又潮湿。”就迁调衡山



In the sixteenth year, Emperor Wen moved the new prince of Huainan back to be prince of Chengyang. Still grieved because Prince Li had lost his kingdom and met an untimely death on account of his lawless and unprincipled behaviour, the emperor divided the old territory of Huainan into three parts and made Liu Chang's son An, the marquis of Fuling, prince of Huainan; Bo, the marquis of Anyang, prince of Hengshan; and Ci, the marquis of Yangzhou, prince of Lujiang. Liang, the marquis of Dongcheng, had died leaving no heir.

In the third year of Emperor Jing, the princes of Wu, Chu and five other kingdoms rebelled. The prince of Wu sent an envoy to the prince of Huainan and the latter wanted to send troops to join them. His chief minister said, "If you mean to raise an army to aid Wu, let me serve as commander." But when the prince gave him command of the army he defended the city, ignoring the prince's orders, and remained loyal to Han. The emperor also sent the marquis of Qucheng with troops to save Huainan. Thus it was kept out of the war.

When the prince of Wu's envoy reached Lujiang, the prince of Lujiang did not join the rebels but remained in touch with the Yue tribesmen. When the prince of Wu's envoy reached Hengshan, the prince of Hengshan remained steadfast and loyal too.

In the fourth year of Emperor Jing, after the defeat of Wu and Chu, the prince of Hengshan came to court and the emperor commended his loyalty. "The south is low and swampy," he declared. "Let the prince of Hengshan rule over Jibei instead." When the prince died he was given the posthumous title of Zhen.

### 【原文】

及薨，遂赐谥为贞王。庐江王边越，数使使相交，故徙为衡山王，王江北。淮南王如故。

淮南王安为人好读书鼓琴，不喜弋猎狗马驰骋，亦欲以行阴德拊循百姓，流誉天下。时时怨望厉王死，时欲畔逆，未有因也。及建元二年，淮南王入朝。素善武安侯，武安侯时为太尉，乃逆王霸上，与王语曰：“方今上无太子，大王亲高皇帝孙，行仁义，天下莫不闻。即宫车一日晏驾，非大王当谁立者！”淮南王大喜，厚遗武安侯金财物。阴结宾客，拊循百姓，为畔逆事。建元六年，彗星见，淮南王心怪之。或说王曰：“先吴军起时，彗星出长数尺，然

### 【今译】

王去做济北王，用以褒奖他。等到他去世，就赐他的谥号为贞王。庐江王边境与南越国交界，多次派使者相互交往，因此调任他做了衡山王，统治江北。淮南王依然如故。

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淮南王刘安为人喜好读书弹琴，不喜好射猎驰骋、玩弄狗马，也想要通过暗中施行恩德来抚慰百姓，使声名流传天下。他时常对厉王之死存有怨恨，常想反叛作乱，只是没有个因由。到了建元二年(公元前139年)，淮南王进京朝见。他平素与武安侯交好，武安侯当时担任太尉，于是就到霸上去迎接淮南王，对淮南王说道：“如今皇上没有太子，大王您是高皇帝的亲孙，广行仁义之事，天下没有不知晓的。假若皇上一旦驾崩，不是大王您即位又该是谁呢！”淮南王大喜，就厚厚地赏赐给武安侯金银财物。他暗地里结交宾客，抚慰百姓，行叛逆之事。建元六年(公元前135年)，彗星出现，淮南王心中奇怪。有人劝说他道：“先前吴国



Since the prince of Lujiang's territory bordered on that of Yue and he had often exchanged envoys with the tribesmen, he was moved to Hengshan north of the Yangtse River. The prince of Huainan retained his former territory.

Liu An, prince of Huainan, was fond of reading and playing the lyre, but took no pleasure in hunting with hounds and horses. He tried to win the people by acts of kindness so that his fame might spread through all the land. Long embittered by the death of his father, Prince Li, he intended to revolt at the first opportunity.

In the second year of the reign period Jianyuan,<sup>3</sup> the prince of Huainan went to pay homage at court. An old friend of his, the marquis of Wuan, who was then the grand marshal, came to meet him at Bashang and told him, "Now the emperor has no heir. Your Highness is the grandson of Emperor Gaozu, and your deeds of kindness and justice are known to all. Should the emperor die, who would be a more fitting successor?"

The prince in high delight gave the marquis of Wuan rich gifts and gold. In secret he set about gathering followers and winning the hearts of the people in preparation for a revolt.

In the sixth year of *Jianyuan* a comet appeared. The prince thought it a strange omen and someone told him, "At the start of the prince of



### 【原文】

尚流血千里。今彗星长竟天，天下兵当大起。”王心以为上无太子，天下有变，诸侯并争，愈益治器械攻战具，积金钱赂遗郡国诸侯游士奇材。诸辨士为方略者，妄作妖言，谄谀王，王喜，多赐金钱，而谋反滋甚。

淮南王有女陵，慧，有口辩。王爱陵，常多予金钱，为中诇长安，约结上左右。元朔三年，上赐淮南王几杖，不朝。淮南王王后荼，王爱幸之。王后生太子迁，迁取王皇太后外孙修成君女为妃。王谋为反具，畏太子妃知而内泄事，乃与太子谋，令诈弗爱，三月不同席。王乃详为怒太子，闭太子使与妃同内三月，太子终不近

### 【今译】

军队发动之时，彗星出现长达数尺，尚且要流血千里。如今彗星长长地横贯天空，天下该有大的战事兴起。”淮南王心中认为皇上没有太子，天下若有变故，诸侯将并起争夺，就越发加紧修治器械和进攻作战的工具，积攒金银钱财收买郡国以及诸侯国中的游侠奇才。那些谋划方略的善辩之士，胡乱编造妖言，阿谀谄媚淮南王，淮南王欢喜，就多多赏赐金银钱财，谋反之举愈加厉害。

淮南王有个女儿叫刘陵，人很聪慧，善辩，有口才。淮南王喜爱刘陵，经常给她很多的金钱，让她在长安做侦探，网罗、结交皇上的左右近臣。元朔三年(公元前126年)，皇上恩赐淮南王几案、手杖，可以不来朝见。淮南王的王后名叫荼，淮南王很宠幸她。王后生下太子刘迁，刘迁娶了王皇太后的外孙修成君的女儿为妃子。淮南王策划准备谋反的用具，害怕太子妃得知，会在朝廷内把事情泄露出去，于是就和太子密谋，让他假装不喜欢她，三个月不和妃子同席睡觉。淮南王便佯装对太子发怒，把太



Wu's rebellion, a comet only a few feet long appeared, yet blood flowed for a thousand *li*. This comet has filled the whole sky. It must portend fierce fighting in the empire."

The prince believed that as the emperor had no heir there would be trouble and the princes would contend for supremacy. So he got weapons and laid up a store of money to win over the other princes, wandering scholars and men of outstanding ability. Then orators and strategists made wild, fantastic predictions to please the prince who showered gold on them in his delight, and plotted rebellion even more eagerly.

The prince had a daughter, Ling, an intelligent girl who had a ready tongue. She was his favourite and he kept her well supplied with money to act as his spy in the capital and get on good terms with the emperor's attendants.

In the third year of *Yuanshuo*<sup>4</sup> the emperor gave the prince of Huainan a stool and walking-stick and exempted him from paying homage at court.

The prince was much attached to his consort Tu, the mother of the crown prince Qian, who had married Lord Xiucheng's daughter, a grand-daughter of Empress Dowager Wang. Fearing lest the crown prince's wife learn of his plot and disclose it, the prince secretly instructed his son to treat her coldly and refuse to sit on the same mat with her for three months. Then the prince, pretending to be angry with his son, confined him in the same room as his wife for three months, but still Qian never went near her. At that she asked to leave



### 【原文】

妃。妃求去，王乃上书谢归去之。王后荼、太子迁及女陵得爱幸王，擅国权，侵夺民田宅，妄致系人。

元朔五年，太子学用剑，自以为人莫及，闻郎中雷被巧，乃召与戏。被一再辞让，误中太子。太子怒，被恐。此时有欲从军者辄诣京师，被即愿奋击匈奴。太子迁数恶被于王，王使郎中令斥免，欲以禁后。被遂亡至长安，上书自明。诏下其事廷尉、河南。河南治，逮淮南太子，王、王后计欲无遣太子，遂发兵反，计犹豫，十余日未定。会有诏，即讯太子。当是时，淮南相怒寿春丞留太子逮不遣，劾不敬。王以请相，相弗听。王使人上书告

### 【今译】

子关闭起来，让他和妃子同居三个月，太子却始终不接近妃子。妃子要求离开，淮南王于是就上书道歉，送她回去了。王后荼、太子刘迁以及女儿刘陵受到淮南王的宠爱，独揽国中大权，侵占掠夺百姓田宅，任意给人加上罪名拘捕起来。

元朔五年(公元前124年)，太子学习用剑，自以为没人能比得上，听说郎中雷被剑术精巧，就召来和他比试耍剑。雷被一再推辞退让，失手击中了太子。太子发了怒，雷被很惊恐。这时有想要从军之人便到京师去，雷被当即愿意从军去奋力攻打匈奴。太子刘迁屡屡向淮南王说雷被的坏话，淮南王就派郎中令罢免了他，想要藉此警告后人。雷被于是便逃到了长安，上书朝廷表白自己。皇帝诏令将这件事下交廷尉和河南郡。河南郡查处，追捕淮南太子，淮南王和王后计议着不想遣送太子，于是便发兵反叛，计划犹豫不决，十多天也没有定下来。正逢有诏书来，要就地讯问太子。正当此时，淮南相恼怒寿春县丞留住太子不予逮捕、遣送，就弹劾他犯了不敬之罪。淮南王为此事向淮南相求



him, and the prince of Huainan sent her back with a letter of apology to the emperor. Queen Tu, the crown prince Qian and Princess Ling were favoured by the prince of Huainan. They wielded absolute power within the principality, seizing land and houses from the people or arresting men at will.

The crown prince Qian had studied swordsmanship and fancied himself unsurpassed in all the land. In the fifth year of *Yuanshuo*, having heard that the palace guardsman Lei Bei was a good swordsman, he summoned him to a contest. Lei Bei repeatedly refused to strike but then by accident wounded the prince, who was so angry that Lei Bei feared reprisals. At this time anyone who asked to join the army was sent straight to the capital, so Lei Bei volunteered to go and fight the Huns. But the crown prince had spoken ill of him to the prince, who ordered the chief of the palace guards to dismiss Lei Bei from his post as a warning to others. Then Lei Bei fled to Chang'an and reported the matter.

The emperor ordered an investigation by the chief justice and the governor of Henan, who sent to arrest the Crown prince. The prince of Huainan and his consort were tempted not to hand Qian over but to raise a revolt. They hesitated for more than ten days, however, and could not make up their mind. Meanwhile there came another decree ordering Qian's trial on the spot.

By now the chief minister of Huainan, angry with the local chief justice for holding back the order for the crown prince's arrest, charged him with insubordination and insisted on sending in this charge despite



## 【原文】

相，事下廷尉治。踪迹连王，王使人候伺汉公卿，公卿请逮捕治王。王恐事发，太子迁谋曰：“汉使即逮王，王令人衣卫士衣，持戟居庭中，王旁有非是，则刺杀之，臣亦使人刺杀淮南中尉，乃举兵，未晚。”是时上不许公卿请，而遣汉中尉宏即讯验王。王闻汉使来，即如太子谋计。汉中尉至，王视其颜色和，讯王以斥雷被事耳，王自度无何，不发。中尉还，以闻。公卿治者曰：“淮南王安拥阏奋击匈奴者雷被等，废格明诏，当弃市。”诏弗许。公卿请废勿王，诏弗许。公卿请削五县，诏削二县。使中尉宏赦淮南王罪，

## 【今译】

情，而相却不听从。淮南王就让人上书控告淮南相，案件下交廷尉处治。种种行迹牵连到了淮南王，淮南王便派人侦候汉朝的公卿大臣，而公卿大臣们都请求逮捕、惩治淮南王。淮南王惟恐事发，太子刘迁就出主意说：“汉朝使者假使逮捕大王，大王就让人穿上卫士的衣服，手拿着戟站在庭堂当中，大王身旁若有不对的情形，就把他刺死，我也派人去刺杀淮南中尉，然后便可起兵，时犹未晚。”而此时皇上没有应允公卿大臣们的请求，而是派遣汉朝中尉殷宏前往就地讯问、查验淮南王。淮南王听说汉朝使者前来，就按照太子的计谋准备好。汉朝中尉到了，淮南王端详他面容和悦，不过是讯问了一下淮南王有关罢斥雷被之事而已，淮南王内心揣度并无何等罪责，便没有发作。中尉还朝，向朝廷汇报此事。负责处治此事的公卿大臣说道：“淮南王刘安阻拦愿意奋力击匈奴的雷被等人，废弃、搁置朝廷的明文诏令，应判处斩首示众。”皇帝下诏不准许。公卿们请求废黜他的王位，诏令没有准许。公卿们又请求削夺他五个县的封地，皇帝诏令削夺其两个县的封地。又派遣中尉殷宏前去赦免淮南王的罪责，而罚以削减封



the prince of Huainan's protests. Then the prince sent someone to court to inform against the minister. The matter was investigated by the chief justice, and the prince of Huainan was found to be involved. Some of his men who were spying on high government officials learned that they had asked for his arrest and trial, and he was afraid that his whole plot would come out.

The crown prince said, "When the envoy of Han comes to arrest you, sir, post halberdiers dressed as bodyguards in the court. In the event of trouble, they can kill the envoy while I send men to kill the government's military tribune of Huainan. It will not be too late then to rise in arms."

The emperor did not agree to his ministers' proposal, however, but sent the tribune Hong to question the prince and verify the facts. When the prince of Huainan heard that the court envoy had come, he did as his son had suggested. But so mild and affable did the tribune prove, simply asking how Lei Bei had come to be dismissed, that the prince assumed he had no cause for alarm and did not carry out his plan.

The tribune returned to make his report, and the ministers in charge of the case said, "Liu An the prince of Huainan detained Lei Bei and others who had volunteered to go and fight the Huns. For defying a government decree, he deserves public execution." To this the emperor would not agree, and when the ministers asked that the prince be deposed, the emperor again refused his consent. Then they suggested that Liu An be deprived of five counties. The emperor deprived the prince of two counties and sent Hong to inform him that his offence was pardoned but that some of his land was to be confiscated.

The tribune crossed the border into Huainan to announce the



### 【原文】

罚以削地。中尉入淮南界，宣言赦王。王初闻汉公卿请诛之，未知得削地，闻汉使来，恐其捕之，乃与太子谋刺之如前计。及中尉至，即贺王，王以故不发。其后自伤曰：“吾行仁义见削，甚耻之。”然淮南王削地之后，其为反谋益甚。诸使道从长安来，为妄妖言，言上无男，汉不治，即喜；即言汉廷治，有男，王怒，以为妄言，非也。

王日夜与伍被、左吴等案舆地图，部署兵所从入。王曰：“上无太子，宫车即晏驾，廷臣必征胶东王，不即常山王，诸侯并争，吾可以无备乎！且吾高祖孙，亲行仁义，陛下遇我厚，吾能忍之；万世之后，吾宁能北面臣事竖子乎！”

### 【今译】

地。中尉进入淮南地界，宣布赦免淮南王。淮南王起初听说汉朝公卿请求诛杀他，不知道受到削地的处罚，闻听汉朝使者前来，惟恐他是来逮捕自己，于是便和太子密谋刺死他，依照前番计策行事。等到中尉到了，当即向淮南王道贺，淮南王因此没有发作。事后又自己伤感道：“我行仁义之事反而被削地，心中真是很耻辱。”然而淮南王被削减封地之后，他密谋反叛更加厉害了。各路使者从长安而来，胡乱编造妖言，说皇上没有儿子，汉朝很不安定，他听了便高兴；而若说是汉朝大治，皇上生了儿子，淮南王便大怒，认为这是胡说，不是真的。

淮南王日以继夜地与伍被、左吴等人查看地图，部署军队从何地攻入。淮南王说：“皇上没有太子，假若皇上驾崩，朝廷群臣必然要征召胶东王，要不就是常山王，诸侯一起相争，我怎么可以不做准备呢！况且我本高祖之孙，躬行仁义之事，陛下待我很厚，我能够忍受；而一旦陛下万世之后，我难道能面北称臣去侍奉那些小子吗！”



pardon. The prince, who knew that the ministers had proposed his execution but not that he would simply be deprived of some territory, feared that the government envoy was coming to arrest him. He therefore plotted with his son, as before, to kill the envoy. When the tribune arrived, however, he congratulated the king on his pardon, and so the king did not carry out his plan.

Later he regretted this and said, "I act with humanity and justice and yet am deprived of territory. How shamefull!" After this he stepped up his plans for revolt. If his envoys came back from the capital with wild rumours and declared that the emperor had no son or the country was badly governed, the prince exulted. If anyone said the country was well governed or a son had been born to the emperor, he raged and considered these as vicious lies.

Day and night the prince, Wu Bei, Zuo Wu and others pored over maps and discussed where to station troops for the attack on Han.

"The emperor has no heir," said the prince. "When he dies, the ministers at court will summon the prince of Jiaodong or the prince of Changshan. Then all the princes will contend for the throne. I must be prepared. I am Emperor Gaozu's grandson, known for my kindness and justice. Since His Majesty has treated me well, I can bide my time. But after his death you need not expect me to swear allegiance to some silly boy."

### 【原文】

王坐东宫，召伍被与谋，曰：“将军上。”被怅然曰：“上宽赦大王，王复安得此亡国之语乎！臣闻子胥谏吴王，吴王不用，乃曰‘臣今见麋鹿游姑苏之台也’。今臣亦见宫中生荆棘，露沾衣也。”王怒，系伍被父母，囚之三月。复召曰：“将军许寡人乎？”被曰：“不，直来为大王画耳。臣闻聪者听于无声，明者见於未形，故圣人万举万全。昔文王一动而功显于千世，列为三代，此所谓因天心以动作者也，故海内不期而随。此千岁之可见者。夫百年之秦，近世之吴楚，亦足以喻国家之存亡矣。臣不敢避子胥之诛，愿大王毋为吴王之听。昔秦绝圣人之道，杀术士，燔诗书，弃

### 【今译】

淮南王坐于东宫，召见伍被前来谋划，说道：“将军上殿。”伍被不高兴地说道：“皇上宽恕、赦免了大王，大王怎么还说这种亡国的话呢！我听说过伍子胥劝谏吴王，吴王没有采用，就说道‘我如今见到麋鹿在姑苏之台上游玩呢’。如今我也见到宫殿之中遍生荆棘，露水沾衣了。”淮南王大怒，拘捕了伍被的父母，把他们囚禁了三个月。然后又召见伍被问道：“将军应允寡人了吗？”伍被答道：“并非如此，我只不过是想要替大王筹划一番而已。我听说听力好的人能从无声之处听到声响，眼力好的人能从无形之中见到征候，故而圣人才能万次举事，万次成功。当初文王一举而功业千世传扬，其国位列三代，这就是所谓顺应天意而行动，因而海内之人都不约而同要来追随。这是千年可见之事。百年前的秦朝，近代的吴国、楚国，也都足以说明国家存亡之理。我不敢躲避伍子胥那样被诛杀的下场，只愿大王不要像吴王那样不听忠言。当初秦朝断绝圣人之道，杀害方术之士，烧毁



One day, sitting in his East Palace, the prince summoned Wu Bei to consult him.

"Come here, general!" he cried.

"The emperor has pardoned Your Highness," said Wu Bei gravely. "Why should you still plot to overthrow the state? I have heard that after Wu Zixu's advice was ignored by the king of Wu, he said, 'I foresee the day when wild deer will roam the terraces of Gusu.' And I can foresee the day when brambles will grow over your palace and the dew will wet men's clothes."

In a rage the prince had him and his parents imprisoned for three months, at the end of which time he summoned him again.

"Do you agree with me now, general?" he asked.

"No!" said Wu Bei. "But let me offer Your Highness some advice. I have heard that a man with good ears can hear what has not yet made a sound, a man with good eyes can see what has not yet taken form. That is why a sage succeeds in all he does. King Wen of old made but one move, yet he has been honoured for a thousand generations as the founder of one of the three great dynasties. For he carried out the will of Heaven and all men followed him of their own accord. This is a case from a thousand years ago, whereas the Qin Dynasty of a hundred years ago and Wu and Chu in recent times are examples of how kingdoms fall. I am not afraid to share the fate of Wu Zixu, but I hope Your Highness will not listen to wrong advice like the king of Wu."

"Qin abandoned the ways of the former kings, killed scholars,



## 【原文】

礼义，尚诈力，任刑罚，转负海之粟致之西河。当是之时，男子疾耕不足于糟糠，女子纺绩不足以盖形。遣蒙恬筑长城，东西数千里，暴兵露师常数十万，死者不可胜数，僵尸千里，流血顷亩，百姓力竭，欲为乱者十家而五。又使徐福入海求神异物，还为伪辞曰：“臣见海中大神，言曰：‘汝西皇之使邪？’”臣答曰：“然。”

“汝何求？”曰：“愿请延年益寿药。”神曰：“汝秦王之礼薄，得观而不得取。”即从臣东南至蓬莱山，见芝成宫阙，有使者铜色而龙形，光上照天。于是臣再拜问曰：“宜何资以献？”海神曰：“以令名男子若振女与百工之事，即得之矣。”秦皇帝大说，遣振男

## 【今译】

《诗》、《书》，废弃礼义，崇尚欺诈和暴力，任用刑罚，转运海边的谷粟，送到西河之地。而当这个时候，男子们忙于耕作却连糟糠都够吃，女子们纺麻织布却连形体都遮掩不住。秦朝派遣蒙恬修筑长城，东西绵延数千里地，驻守在外的军队常常有几十万，死亡之人不可胜数，僵尸倒伏千里，血流千顷万亩之地，百姓气力耗尽，想要造反作乱的人十家中就有五家。秦始皇又派遣徐福入海乞求神仙奇物，他回来后编造谎话说：“我看见了海中的大神，他问我：“你是西方皇帝的使臣吗？”我就答道：“正是。”又问：“你要寻求何物？”我答道：“想要请您赐我延年益寿之药。”大神说：“你们秦王的礼物太薄，所以此药只能让你看但不能拿走。”当即就让我跟他往东南去，到了蓬莱山，见到了用灵芝造成的宫殿，有个使者面色如铜，形状似龙，光彩上照天空。这样我就拜了两次问道：“该用什么样的礼物来敬献呢？”海神说：“拿良家的童男、童女以及百工的制品，就可以得到它了。”秦始皇大为高兴，就遣送童男、童女三千人，供给五谷种子及各



burnt the ancient songs and documents, gave up ceremony and justice, advocated treachery and force, relied on punishments and shipped grain from the coast to Xihe. In those days, although men wore themselves out in the fields, they had not even enough chaff or husks to eat. Although women wove and spun, they had not clothes enough to cover themselves. The emperor sent Meng Tian to build the Great Wall extending thousands of *li* from east to west. He kept hundreds of thousands of troops deployed in the field, and the dead were past counting. Corpses lay strewn for a thousand *li*, hundreds of *mu* flowed with blood, and the people were so exhausted that five households out of ten longed to revolt.

"Then Xu Fu was sent out to sea in search of supernatural beings, and on his return he lied to the emperor, saying, 'I have seen the great god of the ocean, who asked whether I was the envoy from the Emperor of the West. When I signified that I was, he asked me my business. I told him I was looking for an elixir to prolong life. He replied that since the king of Qin's gifts were so poor, I could see what I wished but might take nothing away. Then he let me go southeast to Mount Penglai, where I saw palaces built of sacred fungus. There was a god the colour of bronze and shaped like a dragon, whose light blazed up to illuminate the sky. I bowed and asked what presents I should bring, and the god replied that the elixir could be had by anyone who brought young boys and girls and crafts of every kind.'

"The First Emperor of Qin in high delight sent him back with three thousand boys and girls, the five types of grain and a hundred



## 【原文】

女三千人，资之五谷种种百工而行。徐福得平原广泽，止王不来。于是百姓悲痛相思，欲为乱者十家而六。又使尉佗逾五岭攻百越。尉佗知中国劳极，止王不来，使人上书，求女无夫家者三万人，以为士卒衣补。秦皇帝可其万五千人。于是百姓离心瓦解，欲为乱者十家而七。客谓高皇帝曰：‘时可矣。’高皇帝曰：‘待之，圣人当起东南间。’不一年，陈胜吴广发矣。高皇始于丰沛，一倡天下不期而响应者不可胜数也。此所谓蹈瑕候间，因秦之亡而动者也。百姓愿之，若旱之望雨，故起于行陈之中而立为天子，功高三王，德传无穷。今大王见高皇帝得天下之易也，独不观近世之吴楚乎？夫

## 【今译】

种工匠前往。徐福找到了平野大泽，就待在那里称王不再回来了。在这般情形之下，百姓们悲痛相思，想要造反作乱的人十家就有六家。秦始皇又派尉佗越过五岭去攻打百越。尉佗深知中原疲敝已极，就待在那里称王而不再回来了，派人上书朝廷，要求得到没有夫家的女子三万人，来为士兵们补衣裳。秦始皇应允给他一万五千人。在这样的情形之下，百姓们离心瓦解，众叛亲离，想要造反作乱的人十家中就有七家。有宾客对高皇帝说：‘时机可以了。’高皇帝则说：‘先等一等，圣人当兴起于东南方。’不到一年，陈胜、吴广就发难了。高皇帝在丰邑、沛县起兵，一倡导而天下不约而同来响应的人不可胜数。这就是所谓等候空隙时机，趁着秦朝将亡之时而举事。百姓们盼望这事，有如大旱之时盼望下雨，因而高皇帝得以从行伍战阵之中兴起而成为天子，功德超过三王，恩泽流传无穷。如今大王只见到高皇帝获得天下很容易，怎么单单不看看近代的吴国、楚国呢？那吴王被恩赐名号



different craftsmen. But when Xu Fu reached a plain with a broad expanse of water, he set himself up as king there and never returned. Then the people grieved over their bitter loss, and six households out of ten longed to revolt.

"Then the emperor dispatched Wei Tuo south across the mountains to attack the Yue tribes. Knowing that the people were at the end of their tether, Wei Tuo set himself up as king there and did not go back but sent to ask for thirty thousand unmarried women to mend his troops' uniforms and the emperor sent him fifteen thousand women. That was when the people became further demoralized and seven households out of ten wanted to revolt.

"Someone advised Emperor Gaozu, 'Now is the time!' But he answered, 'Wait. Wise men are going to rise in the southeast.' Before a year had passed, Chen She and Wu Guang started their revolt, and when Emperor Gaozu issued a call from Feng and Pei countless multitudes throughout the land responded spontaneously. That was a case of waiting for the right occasion and striking as Qin was about to fall, when the people longed for its overthrow as men in time of drought long for rain. Thus he rose from the ranks to become the emperor, his achievement surpassed that of the three sage kings and his virtuous influence will be handed down for ever.

"Now Your Highness has seen how easily Emperor Gaozu won his empire. But consider the case of Wu and Chu in recent times. The

**【原文】**

吴王赐号为刘氏祭酒，复不朝，王四郡之众，地方数千里，内铸消铜以为钱，东煮海水以为盐，上取江陵木以为船，一船之载当中国数十两车，国富民众。行珠玉金帛赂诸侯宗室大臣，独窦氏不与。计定谋成，举兵而西。破于大梁，败于狐父，奔走而东，至于丹徒，越人禽之，身死绝祀，为天下笑。夫以吴越之众不能成功者何？诚逆天道而不知时也。方今大王之兵众不能十分吴楚之一，天下安宁有万倍于秦之时，愿大王从臣之计。大王不从臣之计，今见大王事必不成而语先泄也。臣闻微子过故国而悲，于是作《麦秀之歌》，是痛纣之不用王子比干也。故孟子曰‘纣贵为天子，死曾不

**【今译】**

为刘氏祭酒，又可不必前来入朝拜见天子，统治着四郡的民众，地方好几千里，国内可以销熔铜矿来铸造钱币，在东面又可煮海水来制盐，上溯江陵可以伐木造船，一只船所载相当于中原的数十辆车，国家富足，百姓众多。用珠玉金帛来贿赂诸侯、宗室以及朝中大臣，惟独没有给皇亲窦氏。当他商定计谋之后，就举兵西向。在大梁被击破，在狐父兵败，吴王向东面奔逃，跑到了丹徒，被越人所擒获，自己身死，又断了后嗣，为天下人所耻笑。凭吴越那样众多的军队却未能取得成功，这是什么原因呢？实在是由于背逆天道又不懂得时机呀。如今大王的军队比不上吴楚的十分之一，而天下安宁，比秦朝之时胜过万倍，希望大王还是听从为臣的计谋。大王若是不听臣的计谋，如今预见到大王起事必然不能成功，因而先把话表露出来。我听说过微子经过故国之时满心悲痛，这样他就作了首《麦秀之歌》，这是哀痛纣王没有采用王子比干的计策。因此《孟子》说‘纣王贵为天子，死时竟还不



prince of Wu was entitled the chief of the imperial clan and did not have to go to court to pay homage. He ruled the multitudes of four provinces with a territory of several thousand square *li*. He minted money from copper and boiled sea water on the east coast to extract salt. To the west he felled timber at Jiangling to make boats, each able to carry as much as several dozen waggons of the central states. His land was wealthy and populous and he sent jewels, gold and silk to bribe the princes, members of the imperial clan and high ministers. All but the Dou family were in his plot.

"After his preparations were complete, he led his army westward. Defeated at Daliang and routed at Hufu, he fled eastward to Dantu where he was captured by the Yue tribesmen. So he perished and his clan was wiped out, becoming the world's laughing-stock. The reason why he failed despite the size of his forces was that he flouted Heaven's law and did not choose the right time.

"Now your troops are less than one-tenth of those of Wu and Chu, while the empire is infinitely more stable than it was then. I beg Your Highness to take my advice. If you refuse I foresee you are bound to fail. News of your plan will leak out in advance.

"I have heard that when Weizi saw the ruins of the former kingdom of Shang, he made the *Song of the Millet* in his grief to lament that King Zhou had not listened to Prince Bigan. And that is why Mencius said, 'Although Zhou was exalted as the Son of Heaven, his death was worse than that of a common man.' For King Zhou had long cut



### 【原文】

若匹夫’。是纣先自绝于天下久矣，非死之日而天下去之。今臣亦窃悲大王弃千乘之君，必且赐绝命之书，为群臣先，死于东宫也。”于是气怨结而不扬，涕满匡而横流，即起，历阶而去。

王有孽子不害，最长，王弗爱，王、王后、太子皆不以为子兄数。不害有子建，材高有气，常怨望太子不省其父；又怨时诸侯皆得分子弟为侯，而淮南独二子，一为太子，建父独不得为侯。建阴结交，欲告败太子，以其父代之。太子知之，数捕系而榜笞建。建具知太子之谋欲杀汉中尉，即使所善寿春庄芷以元朔六年上书于天子曰：“毒药苦于口利于病，忠言逆于耳利于行。今淮南王孙建，

### 【今译】

如匹夫百姓’。这是由于纣王先就自绝于天下人很久了，并非到他死的那天，天下人才抛弃了他。如今我也暗自悲伤大王要抛弃掉千乘之君的王位，而必将作绝命书，在群臣之前，就死在东宫之中了。”说完之后，伍被怨愤之气郁结于胸，神情不振，热泪盈眶，涕泗横流，当即便起身，踏阶而去。

淮南王有个庶子名叫刘不害，年龄最大，淮南王不喜欢他，大王、王后以及太子全都不把他当儿子或长兄看待。刘不害有个儿子叫刘建，才高负气，时常怨恨太子不把他父亲算入兄弟当中；又埋怨当时诸侯都能分封子弟为侯，而淮南王又只有两个儿子，一个做了太子，而刘建的父亲却单单不能封侯。刘建暗地里与人勾结，想要把太子告倒，好使他的父亲取而代之。太子得知此事，屡次拘捕刘建并鞭笞拷打他。刘建完全知晓太子想要谋杀汉朝中尉之事，就派和他友善的寿春人庄芷于元朔六年（公元前123年）向天子上书说：“良药苦口利于病，忠言逆耳利于行。如今



himself off from the people, it was not that they left him in the hour of his death.

"Dismayed to see Your Highness cast away your position as lord of ten thousand chariots, I beg to be allowed to kill myself, that I may die here in the East Palace before all your ministers perish."

The prince sank into gloom too deep to dispel, so that tears welled up in his eyes. He rose, walked down the steps and went away.

Now the prince had a son named Buhai whose mother was a concubine. Although he was the eldest son, the prince had no love for him and neither the prince, the queen, nor the crown prince treated him as one of their family.

Buhai's son Jian was talented and ambitious. He resented the crown prince's coldness to his father and the fact that the sons of all the other princes were ennobled while the son of the prince of Huainan who was not the heir was not even a marquis. He therefore formed secret connections, hoping to inform against the crown prince and overthrow him so that his father could become the heir instead. The crown prince, learning of this, had Jian arrested and flogged several times. When in the sixth year of Yuanshuo Jian discovered the crown prince's plot to kill the central tribune he made his friend Zhuang Zhi, a native of Shouchun, present this report to the emperor:

Harsh medicine is bitter to taste but cures disease, loyal words offend the ear but benefit conduct. Now Jian the grandson of the



## 【原文】

材能高，淮南王王后荼、荼子太子迁常疾害建。建父不害无罪，擅数捕系，欲杀之。今建在，可征问，具知淮南阴事。”书闻，上以其事下廷尉，廷尉下河南治。是时故辟阳侯孙审卿善丞相公孙弘，怨淮南厉王杀其祖父，乃深购淮南事于弘，弘乃疑淮南有畔逆计谋，深穷治其狱。河南治建，辞引淮南太子及党与。淮南王患之，欲发，问伍被曰：“汉廷治乱？”伍被曰：“天下治。”王意不说，谓伍被曰：“公何以言天下治也？”被曰：“被窃观朝廷之政，君臣之义，父子之亲，夫妇之别，长幼之序，皆得其理，上之举错遵古之道，风俗纪纲未有所缺也。重装富贾，周流

## 【今译】

淮南王之孙刘建，才能高超，淮南王的王后荼以及荼的儿子太子刘迁常常嫉妒、伤害刘建。刘建的父亲刘不害本无罪责，他们却屡屡擅自拘捕，想要杀害他。如今刘建在，可以征召来查问，就可以完全知晓淮南王的隐密之事了。”奏书上呈朝廷，皇上把这件事下交廷尉，廷尉交付河南郡处治。这时原辟阳侯的孙子审卿与丞相公孙弘相友善，怨恨淮南厉王杀害他的祖父，就向公孙弘极言淮南王的罪行，公孙弘于是便怀疑淮南王心怀叛逆的阴谋，就深入彻底地查处这个案件。河南郡审问刘建，供辞牵连到淮南太子及其党羽。淮南王很担心此事，想要发动叛乱，就问伍被道：“汉朝天下是大治还是大乱？”伍被答道：“天下大治。”淮南王心中不悦，就对伍被说：“您凭什么就说天下大治？”伍被答道：“我暗自观察朝廷的政事，君臣之间的礼义，父子之间的亲情，夫妇之间的区别，长幼之间的次序，全都合乎它的道理，皇上的举动遵循着古时的规则，风俗和纲纪法度全都未曾有什么阙失之处。满载货物的富商，遍布天下，道路无处不通，因此交易之道



prince of Huainan has abilities of a high order but is persecuted by Queen Tu and her son the crown prince Qian. Jian's father Buhai has done no wrong yet he has been arrested several times and they mean to do away with him. Jian is ready to be summoned and questioned. He knows all the secrets of the prince of Huainan.

Having read this report, the emperor referred it to the chief justice, who referred it to the governor of Henan.

At this time Shen Qing, grandson of the former marquis of Piyang, was a good friend of the prime minister Gongsun Hong, and he had never forgiven Prince Li of Huainan for killing his grandfather. He painted the situation in Huainan so black that the prime minister began to suspect that the prince was plotting rebellion and determined to make a thorough investigation. The governor of Henan interrogated Jian, who incriminated the crown prince of Huainan and his followers.

The prince of Huainan was alarmed and decided to rebel. He asked Wu Bei, "Does the Han court rule well or badly?"

"The empire is well governed," answered Wu Bei.

The prince, displeased with this reply, demanded, "Why do you say that?"

"I have observed that the court administration, the relationships between sovereign and subjects, father and son, husband and wife, senior and junior are all properly regulated," said Wu Bei. "The emperor administers the realm in accordance with the ancient way and there is no breach of conventions or discipline. Wealthy merchants with heavy loads travel the length and breadth of the empire, for all the roads are open; hence trade is flourishing. The southern Yue tribes



### 【原文】

天下，道无不通，故交易之道行。南越宾服，羌僰入献，东瓯入降，广长榆，开朔方，匈奴折翅伤翼，失援不振。虽未及古太平之时，然犹为治也。”王怒，被谢死罪。王又谓被曰：“山东即有兵，汉必使大将军将而制山东，公以为大将军何如人也？”被曰：“被所善者黄义，从大将军击匈奴，还，告被曰：‘大将军遇士大夫有礼，于士卒有恩，众皆乐为之用。骑上下山若蜚，材干绝人。’被以为材能如此，数将习兵，未易当也。及谒者曹梁使长安来，言大将军号令明，当敌勇敢，常为士卒先。休舍，穿井未通，须士卒尽得水，乃敢饮。军罢，卒尽已度河，乃度。皇太后所赐金

### 【今译】

畅行。南越臣服，羌人、僰人入朝进贡，东瓯降服，拓展长榆要塞，开辟朔方郡，令匈奴羽翼损伤，失去救助而一蹶不振。虽说尚未赶得上古代太平盛世，然而也可算是大治之世了。”淮南王大怒，伍被谢以死罪。淮南王又对伍被说：“崤山以东假使发生战事，汉朝必定要派大将军率兵前来控制崤山以东之地，您认为大将军是怎样的一个人呢？”伍被答道：“我所友善的一个人叫黄义，曾经跟随大将军攻打匈奴，回来后告诉我说：‘大将军对士大夫待之以礼，对士兵们有恩德，军众们都乐于被他任用。他骑马上山、下山好像飞一样，才干过人。’我认为大将军有如此的才能，又屡次率军，熟悉用兵，不容易抵挡住他。再有，谒者曹梁出使长安归来，言说大将军号令分明，拒敌勇敢，时常身先士卒。军队驻扎宿营时，若掘井没有掘通，就一定要等士兵们全都喝上水，他才肯喝。军队罢兵回来，要等士兵们都已渡过黄河，他才肯渡河。皇太后赏赐给他的黄金玉帛，他全都赏给了军中小



acknowledge our suzerainty, the men of Qiang and Bo in the west send tribute, the eastern tribes have surrendered, the northern frontier at Changyu has been extended, and the new province of Shuofang has been opened up. The Huns, their wings clipped and torn, are cut off from their allies and cannot stir against us. Although this cannot compare with the great peace of antiquity, it is nevertheless a time of good government."

The prince was furious, and Wu Bei apologized for his presumption.

Then the prince questioned him again. "If fighting breaks out in the east, the Han court is bound to send Grand Marshal Wei Qing with an army to subdue the land east of the Pass. What is your estimate of the grand marshal?"

"A friend of mine, Huang Yi, served under Wei Qing in a campaign against the Huns," said Wu Bei. "On his return he told me, 'The grand marshal is courteous to his officers and good to his men, so that all of them like to serve under him. He gallops up and down the hills as if he had wings and is of outstanding ability.' To my mind a seasoned campaigner of such ability would prove hard to resist. When the imperial herald Cao Liang came from Chang'an, he described the marshal as a brilliant commander, fearless in the face of the enemy, and as one who always fights in the forefront of the battle. When the army encamps and wells are dug, he drinks only after all his men have drunk. When the army is in retreat, he crosses a river only after all his men have crossed. When the empress dowager gives him gold and silk, he pre-

### 【原文】

帛，尽以赐军吏。虽古名将弗过也。”王默然。

淮南王见建已征治，恐国阴事且觉，欲发，被又以为难，乃复问被曰：“公以为吴兴兵是邪非也？”被曰：“以为非也。吴王至富贵也，举事不当，身死丹徒，头足异处，子孙无遗类。臣闻吴王悔之甚。愿王孰虑之，无为吴王之所悔。”王曰：“男子之所死者一言耳。且吴何知反，汉将一日过成皋者四十余人。今我令楼缓先要成皋之口，周被下颍川兵塞轘辕、伊阙之道，陈定发南阳兵守武关。河南太守独有洛阳耳，何足忧。然此北尚有临晋关、河东、上党与河内、赵国。人言曰‘绝成皋之口，天下不通’。据三川之险，招山东之兵，举事如此，公以为何如？”被曰：“臣见其祸，

### 【今译】

吏。就是古代的名将也超不过他。”淮南王听罢默然无语。

淮南王见刘建已被召去盘问，惟恐国中阴谋要被发觉，就想要发难，伍被又认为有难处，于是淮南王又一次去问伍被道：“您认为吴国兴兵作乱是对还是错呢？”伍被答道：“我认为是错误的。吴王至为富贵，举事颇为不当，招致身死于丹徒，身首异处，子孙没留下一人。我听说吴王为此后悔已极。希望大王深思熟虑，不要去做吴王所悔之事。”淮南王说：“男子汉不成功则死，只是一句话而已。况且吴王哪里知晓反叛之理，那汉军将领每天通过成皋的足有四十多人。如今我就派楼缓预先截断成皋关口，派周被攻下颍川，军队堵住轘辕、伊阙的通道，派陈定征发南阳的军队把守武关。河南太守就只剩一个洛阳了，有什么值得忧虑的。然而这北面还有临晋关、河东郡、上党郡以及河内郡和赵国。人们常说‘断绝成皋关口，天下的道路就会不通’。我们依据着三川之险，征召崤山以东的大军，这样举事，您认为如



sents them all to his officers. Even celebrated generals of old were no better."

The prince was silent.

Now that Jian was being cross-examined, the prince feared his plot might come to light and was eager to rebel, but Wu Bei still opposed it. So once more the prince asked him, "Do you think the prince of Wu was right or wrong in starting his rebellion?"

"I think he was wrong," said Wu Bei. "The prince of Wu enjoyed great wealth and the highest rank, but because he did wrong he perished at Dantu, his head was severed from his body, and all his sons and grandsons were wiped out. I have heard that he repented bitterly. I hope Your Highness will weigh the matter well rather than have to regret the same fate as the prince of Wu."

"A brave man must be ready to die for a mere word," retorted the prince of Huainan. "Besides, what did the prince of Wu know about rebellion? In one day he let over forty Han generals pass Chenggao! If I send Lou Huan to block the pass at Chenggao, send Zhou Bei from Yingchuan to block the passes of Huanyuan and Yique, and Chen Ding at the head of the troops of Nanyang to hold the Wu Pass, the governor of Henan will have nothing left but Luoyang and we need not worry about him. Further north, of course, there are still the Linjin Pass, Hedong, Shangdang, Henei and Zhao. But there is a saying, 'Block Chenggao and you have nothing to fear from the rest of the empire.' Then I can seize the strongholds of Sanchuan and raise troops east of the Pass. What do you think of this plan?"

"No good can come of it, nothing but disaster."

**【原文】**

未见其福也。”王曰：“左吴、赵贤、朱骄如皆以为有福，什事九成，公独以为有祸无福，何也？”被曰：“大王之群臣近幸素能使众者，皆前系诏狱，余无可用者。”王曰：“陈胜、吴广无立锥之地，千人之聚，起于大泽，奋臂大呼而天下响应，西至于戏而兵百二十万。今吾国虽小，然而胜兵者可得十余万，非直谪戍之众，饥苗棘矜也，公何以言有祸无福？”被曰：“往者秦为无道，残贼天下。兴万乘之驾，作阿房之宫，收太半之赋，发闾左之戍，父不宁子，兄不便弟，政苛刑峻，天下熬然若焦，民皆引领而望，倾耳而听，悲号仰天，叩心而怨上，故陈胜大呼，天下响应。当今陛下临

**【今译】**

何？”伍被说：“我只见这样做的祸患，并未见有什么福气。”淮南王说道：“左吴、赵贤、朱骄如都认为有福气，事情十之八九要成功，您单单认为有祸没福，为什么呢？”伍被答道：“大王您宠信的群臣中平素能驱使众人的，全都在前番就已被牵连进了诏狱，其余的都没什么用。”淮南王说：“陈胜、吴广身无立锥之地，聚集上千人，在大泽中起事，奋臂高呼而天下响应，向西攻到了戏水，兵力已到一百二十万人。如今我国虽小，然而能当兵的可以有十多万人，并非只是些谪戍边地的军众，手拿着些弩机、戟柄，您又凭什么说有祸无福呢？”伍被说：“从前是秦朝无道，残害天下。发动万乘车驾出行，兴建阿房宫，征收百姓大半收入作赋税，连闾左不服役的人也征发走了，父亲不能让儿子安宁，兄长不能使弟弟安逸，苛政严刑，天下人像烧焦一般痛苦不堪，百姓们全都伸长脖子盼望着，倾耳细听，仰天悲号，捶胸怨恨着皇上，因而陈胜大呼一声，天下人都来响应。当今陛下君临



"Zuo Wu, Zhao Xian and Zhu Jiaoru think it good and almost bound to succeed. Why are you the only one to see no good in it, nothing but disaster?"

"All your ministers and the officers you could trust to command troops have been imprisoned by the emperor. You have no good generals left."

"Chen She and Wu Guang had not even a pin-point of land when they rose in the marshes with a thousand men. They raised their arms and with a great call the whole empire responded. By the time they reached Xi in the west, they had rallied one million two hundred thousand men. My kingdom may be small, but I have more than a hundred thousand fighting men. This is much better than a bunch of conscripts with scythes, picks and wooden spears. Why do you say nothing but disaster can come of it?"

"In time past the emperor of Qin defied what was right, oppressing and injuring the people. He had a retinue of ten thousand carriages, built Epang Palace, took away over half his subjects' income in taxes, and conscripted those who should have been exempt from service. Fathers were unable to support their sons, elder brothers to help their younger brothers. Harsh administration and cruel punishments made the whole country groan in distress. The people craned their necks to look for salvation and inclined their ears to listen, crying out to Heaven and beating their breasts in hatred of the emperor. That is why the whole empire responded to Chen She's call.



### 【原文】

制天下，一齐海内，泛爱蒸庶，布德施惠。口虽未言，声疾雷霆，令虽未出，化驰如神，心有所怀，威动万里，下之应上，犹影响也。而大将军材能不特章邯、杨熊也。大王以陈胜、吴广谕之，被以为过矣。”王曰：“苟如公言，不可徼幸邪？”被曰：“被有愚计。”王曰：“奈何？”被曰：“当今诸侯无异心，百姓无怨气。朔方之郡田地广，水草美，民徙者不足以实其地。臣之愚计，可伪为丞相御史请书，徙郡国豪桀任侠及有耐罪以上，赦令除其罪，产五十万以上者，皆徙其家属朔方之郡，益发甲卒，急其会日。又伪为左右都司空上林中都官诏狱书，逮捕诸侯太子幸臣。如此则民怨，诸

### 【今译】

天下，海内一统，博爱民众，广布德政，施加恩惠。陛下虽然尚未开口，而声音急如雷霆，诏令虽然尚未发出，而教化奔驰如神，心中有所思虑，威势便会震动万里之遥，下面响应上面，有如影子和回声一般。而大将军才能不仅仅如章邯、杨熊之辈。大王您拿陈胜、吴广来比喻说明，我认为是个过失。”淮南王便问：“若真像您说的那样，难道就不可以侥幸取胜吗？”伍被答道：“我有个愚拙之计。”淮南王问：“怎么样？”伍被说：“如今诸侯与朝廷并无异心，百姓也没有怨气。朔方之郡田地广阔，水草丰美，迁徙去的人不足以充实那地方。我的愚计就是，可以伪造丞相和御史的请求文书，迁徙郡国之中的豪杰、任侠之士以及有罪服刑以上各类人，都下令赦免他们的罪责，而那些家产在五十万以上的人，都要一同迁徙他们的家属到朔方之郡去，再加派披甲的士兵，督促他们会合的日期。又可伪造左司空、右司空、都司空以及上林苑和京中各官府的诏狱文书，逮捕诸侯的太子及宠

"Now our emperor rules over a united empire, his love extends to all, his virtue and liberality are manifest. His lips do not move, yet his voice travels with the speed of a thunderbolt. He issues no order, yet his influence spreads like magic. When he wishes for something, his might is felt ten thousand *li* away and his subjects respond like a shadow or an echo. Furthermore, Grand Marshal Wei Qing is abler than either Zhang Han or Yang Xiong. And so I think Your Highness is mistaken to compare yourself with Chen She and Wu Guang."

"If that is true," said the prince, "is there no chance at all?"

Wu Bei replied, "I have a humble plan."

"What is that?"

"The feudal lords have no treason in their hearts, the people no dissatisfaction. But the province of Shuofang has extensive pasture lands and is well-watered, and not enough migrants have moved there yet to populate it fully. My humble plan is to forge a petition from the prime minister and chief counsellor asking to move powerful men and gallant citizens from the provinces, to pardon prisoners serving light sentences, and to settle these in Shuofang along with men who possess more than half a million cash, and all their families, dispatching soldiers to hasten their departure. Warrants issued by the law officers of the imperial clan should also be forged to arrest the sons and favourite



### 【原文】

侯惧，即使辩武随而说之，傥可徼幸什得一乎？”王曰：“此可也。虽然，吾以为不至若此。”于是王乃令官奴入宫，作皇帝玺，丞相、御史、大将军、军吏、中二千石、都官令、丞印，及旁近郡太守、都尉印，汉使节法冠，欲如伍被计。使人伪得罪而西，事大将军、丞相；一日发兵，使人即刺杀大将军青，而说丞相下之，如发蒙耳。

王欲发国中兵，恐其相、二千石不听。王乃与伍被谋，先杀相、二千石；伪失火宫中，相、二千石救火，至即杀之。计未决，又欲令人衣求盗衣，持羽檄，从东方来，呼曰“南越兵入

### 【今译】

臣。这样就会使民心怨怒，诸侯惊惧，即刻再派辩士随后加以游说，或许还能侥幸得到十分之一的希望呢？”淮南王说：“这样可以。即使如此，我认为也还不至于到如此地步。”这样，淮南王就命令官府中的奴隶入宫去，制作皇帝玺印和丞相、御史大夫、大将军、军吏、中二千石、都官令、丞的印信以及附近诸郡太守和都尉的印信和汉朝使节的法冠，想要依伍被的计策行事。又派人伪装成罪犯西去，事奉大将军及丞相；一旦淮南王发兵，就派人立即刺杀大将军卫青，而劝说丞相及其下属归降，有如揭掉盖头一般轻而易举。

淮南王想要发动国内军队，惟恐他的国相和二千石的官员不听从。淮南王就与伍被密谋，先去杀掉国相以及二千石官员；就伪装成宫中失火，趁国相及二千石官员救火之机，等他们一到就杀掉。计谋尚未决定下来，又想让人穿上捕盗士卒的衣服，手持紧急檄文，从东方赶来，大呼道“南越军队进了边界了”，想藉



ministers of the nobles. Then the people will murmur, the nobles will take fright, and if you send orators to incite them, you have one chance in ten of succeeding."

"That could be done," said the prince. "Although I think it hardly necessary."

The prince summoned slaves to his palace to forge an imperial seal and the seals of the prime minister, the chief counsellor, the grand marshal, officials of the two thousand piculs rank, officials in the capital, magistrates and assistant magistrates, as well as governors and army commanders of nearby provinces. Government credentials and official caps were also made, to carry out Wu Bei's plan. The prince in addition sent men, supposedly fugitives from justice, to serve Grand Marshal Wei Qing and the prime minister. For in this way, once he called out his troops, he thought the marshal could be assassinated and the prime minister forced to surrender as easily as lifting the cover off a pot.

The prince wanted to rise in revolt, but feared his chief minister and officers of the two thousand piculs rank might not agree. So he made plans with Wu Bei to kill them first. They would pretend that the palace was on fire, and when the chief minister and other high officials came to put out the fire, they would kill them. Before putting this plan into action, the prince decided to dress some men as constables and have them arrive from the east carrying emergency orders and crying, "The southern Yue tribesmen have crossed the border!" Then he would



### 【原文】

界”，欲因以发兵。乃使人至庐江、会稽为求盗，未发。王问伍被曰：“吾举兵西乡，诸侯必有应我者；即无应，奈何？”被曰：“南收衡山以击庐江，有寻阳之船，守下雉之城，结九江之浦，绝豫章之口，强弩临江而守，以禁南郡之下，东收江都、会稽，南通劲越，屈强江淮间，犹可得延岁月之寿。”王曰：“善，无以易此。急则走越耳。”

于是廷尉以王孙建辞连淮南王太子迁闻。上遣廷尉监因拜淮南中尉，逮捕太子。至淮南，淮南王闻，与太子谋召相、二千石，欲杀而发兵。召相，相至；内史以出为解。中尉曰：“臣受诏使，不

### 【今译】

此机会发动军队。于是就派人去到庐江、会稽实施捕盜之计，尚未发兵。淮南王问伍被：“我发兵西进，诸侯王一定有响应我的；倘使无人响应，该怎么办呢？”伍被说：“可以向南收取衡山国来攻打庐江，占有寻阳的船只，坚守下雉城，扼守九江江岸，阻绝豫章湖口，持强弩临长江坚守，以禁止南郡的军队沿江而下，再向东收取江都和会稽，向南沟通强劲的南越国，在江淮之间固守坚持，也还是可以拖延一些时日。”淮南王说：“好，此计无可替代。危急之时就可奔向南越国。”

在这个时候，廷尉将淮南王之孙刘建的供辞牵连到淮南王太子刘迁之事上奏朝廷。皇上派遣廷尉监趁着拜见淮南中尉之机，逮捕太子。廷尉监到了淮南国，淮南王闻听，就和太子密谋召见国相及二千石官员，想要杀掉他们，然后发动军队。召见国相，国相到来；而内史推说是已经出了门。中尉则回答说：“我正接见皇上派来的使者，不能去见大王。”淮南王心想单单杀掉国相而



call out his troops. But before these "constables" set out to Lujiang and Kuaiji, the prince consulted Wu Bei again.

"When I lead my troops west, some other princes should certainly join me," he said. "But what if some refuse to answer my call?"

"You must seize Hengshan to attack Lujiang," said Wu Pei. "Take the Xunyang fleet, defend the city of Xiazhi, hold the river at Jiujiang and block the Yuzhang Pass, Using strong bowmen to defend the Yangtse and keep Nanjun from falling into enemy hands. Then you can seize Jiangdu and Kuaiji in the east and ally with the Yue fighters in the south. Strongly entrenched between the Yangtse and the Huai Rivers, you should be able to hold out for a long time."

"That is my best course," agreed the king. "If the worst comes to the worst, I can always flee to Yue."

Meanwhile the chief justice had reported that the crown prince of Huainan was incriminated by the prince's grandson Jian. The emperor appointed the chief justice's lieutenant as military tribune of Huainan and sent him there to arrest the crown prince. When the prince of Huainan heard that he was coming, he took counsel with his son and decided to summon the chief minister and the officials of the two thousand piculs rank to kill them before starting the revolt. The chief minister came at their summons, but the city prefect made some excuse not to appear, while the military tribune said that he had orders from the emperor not to see the prince. The prince realized that it was useless to kill the chief minister alone, in the absence of the city prefect



### 【原文】

得见王。”王念独杀相而内史中尉不来，无益也，即罢相。王犹豫，计未决。太子念所坐者谋刺汉中尉，所与谋者已死，以为口绝，乃谓王曰：“群臣可用者皆前系，今无足与举事者。王以非时发，恐无功，臣愿会逮。”王亦偷欲休，即许太子。太子即自刭，不殊。伍被自诣吏，因告与淮南王谋反，反踪迹具如此。

吏因捕太子、王后，围王宫，尽求捕王所与谋反宾客在国中者，索得反具以闻。上下公卿治，所连引与淮南王谋反列侯二千石豪杰数千人，皆以罪轻重受诛。衡山王赐，淮南王弟也，当坐收，有司请逮捕衡山王。天子曰：“诸侯各以其国为本，不当相坐。与

### 【今译】

内史和中尉却未来，没有什么好处，就送走了国相。淮南王犹豫不决，计谋尚未定下来。太子心想所犯之罪是因为谋刺汉朝中尉，而参与谋划之人已经死了，他认为灭了口，就对淮南王说：“群臣中能够任用的人都已在前番被拘捕，如今没有值得一起举大事之人。大王认为不到时机发兵，恐怕不会成功，我愿意前去应捕。”淮南王也想苟且偷安，就此罢休，便准许太子。太子当即自刎，却没有死。伍被自动前往官吏那里，因而自首了他与淮南王谋反之事，谋反的前后线索、情形全部如此。

官吏们因而逮捕太子、王后，包围王宫，追捕国内所有参与谋反的淮南王的宾客，搜寻出谋反的物品上奏朝廷。皇上交付给公卿处治，所牵连的参与淮南王谋反的列侯、二千石官员及豪杰有几千人，全都按其罪责轻重受到惩处。衡山王刘赐是淮南王的弟弟，按罪理当惩处，有关官员请求逮捕衡山王。天子说：“诸侯各自以他的封国作为根本，不应连坐。淮南王的罪行，你们要与



and the military tribune, and therefore he let him go.

While the prince vacillated and could not reach a decision, the crown prince reflected that since he was the one charged with plotting to kill Han's military tribune, if he were dead there would be no witnesses left. So he said to his father, "All those officers of any use to us have been arrested. There is no one we can rely on in our cause, and an untimely rising might result in failure. I am willing to give myself up."

The prince, anxious to find some way out, consented to this. And the crown prince tried to cut his own throat, but only wounded himself.

Wu Bei went off his own accord to the authorities and made a full confession of how he had plotted revolt with the prince of Huainan, as has been related above. Then the authorities arrested the crown prince and his mother and besieged the palace, while they searched for and arrested all those protégés of the prince who had plotted with him and were still in his kingdom. When all their findings were reported to the emperor, he ordered his ministers to investigate the matter. Several thousand men were involved in the plot, including princes, officers of the two thousand piculs rank and prominent citizens. They were punished according to the gravity of their offences.

Liu Ci, the prince of Hengshan and younger brother of the prince of Huainan, was one of those involved. But when the authorities asked permission to arrest him, the emperor replied, "All the princes should be judged according to their behaviour in their own territory, not held responsible for each other's actions. Let the princes and marquises dis-



### 【原文】

诸侯王列侯会肄丞相诸侯议。”赵王彭祖、列侯臣让等四十三人议，皆曰：“淮南王安甚大逆无道，谋反明白，当伏诛。”胶西王臣端议曰：“淮南王安废法行邪，怀诈伪心，以乱天下，蛊惑百姓，倍畔宗庙，妄作妖言。《春秋》曰‘臣无将，将而诛’。安罪重于将，谋反形已定。臣端所见其书节印图及他逆无道事验明白，甚大逆无道，当伏其法。而论国吏二百石以上及比者，宗室近幸臣不在法中者，不能相教，当皆免官削爵为士伍，毋得宦为吏。其非吏，他赎死金二斤八两。以章臣安之罪，使天下明知臣子之道，毋敢复有邪僻倍畔之意。”丞相弘、廷尉汤等以闻，天子使宗正以符

### 【今译】

诸侯王、列侯会聚丞相诸臣商议。”赵王刘彭祖、列侯臣让等四十三人商议，都认为：“淮南王刘安甚为大逆不道，谋反的罪行明明白白，应判处死罪。”胶西王刘端议论道：“淮南王刘安废弃法度，行为奸邪，怀有狡诈作伪之心，扰乱天下，蛊惑百姓，背叛朝廷宗庙，妄作妖言。《春秋》上说‘臣子不要谋逆，谋逆必遭诛杀’。刘安之罪重于谋逆，其反叛的情形已经确定。我所见到的他的文书、符节、印玺、地图以及其它谋逆无道之事查验证明，甚为大逆不道，应当伏法。而论到淮南国中官吏在二百石以上和等同于二百石的，宗室宠臣没有参与其中的不能互相考校的，全都应当免除官职、削夺爵位，罚作士伍之人，不得再任用为官。其余并非官吏的，要另行交纳赎死金二斤八两。用以显明刘安的罪行，使得天下人都明确知晓臣子之道，不敢再有奸邪背叛之心。”丞相公孙弘、廷尉张汤等人把这些议论上奏天子，天子就派遣宗正拿着符节去惩治淮南王。尚未到达，淮南王刘安自



cuss the matter with the prime minister."

Then forty-three nobles including Prince Pengzu of Zhao and Marquis Rang declared, "Liu An, the prince of Huainan, is guilty of high treason. There is clear evidence of his plot to revolt. He should suffer the extreme penalty."

Prince Duan of Jiaoxi also said, "The prince of Huainan has broken the laws and done evil, conspiring in secret to plunge the land into chaos, deceive the people, betray the ancestral temples and spread false rumours. In the *Spring and Autumn Annals* we read, 'A subject must not even contemplate rebellion; if he does, he must die.' The prince's crime is worse than contemplating rebellion, for his rebellion has taken visible form. Judging by the evidence I saw, his letters, credentials, seals, maps and other proofs of his guilt, it is very clear that he committed high treason and should suffer the full penalty of the law. With regard to his principality, all the officers above the two hundred piculs rank or those of equivalent ranks, as well as his kinsmen and favourites, even if they had no part in the plot, should be stripped of their titles and posts, reduced to the rank of commoners and debarred from holding official posts, because they failed to remonstrate with the prince. Those of them with no official post should pay a fine of two catties and eight taels of gold. This would make manifest Liu An's guilt so that everyone in the empire understands the duty of a subject and ceases to harbour wicked and rebellious thoughts."

When the prime minister Gongsun Hong and the chief justice Zhang Tang reported this, the emperor sent the officer of the imperial clan with the imperial tally and credentials to arrest the prince. Before the

### 【原文】

节治王。未至，淮南王安自刭杀。王后荼、太子迁诸所与谋反者皆族。天子以伍被雅辞多引汉之美，欲勿诛。廷尉汤曰：“被首为王画反谋，被罪无赦。”遂诛被。国除为九江郡。

衡山王赐，王后乘舒生子三人，长男爽为太子，次男孝，次女无采。又姬徐来生子男女四人，美人厥姬生子二人。衡山王、淮南王兄弟相责望礼节，间不相能。衡山王闻淮南王作为畔逆反具，亦心结宾客以应之，恐为所并。

元光六年，衡山王入朝，其谒者卫庆有方术，欲上书事天子，王怒，故劾庆死罪，强榜服之。衡山内史以为非是，却其

### 【今译】

刎而亡。王后荼、太子刘迁和各位参与谋反的人都被灭族。天子因为伍被往常的言词之中多次引述了汉朝的善政，想不杀掉他。廷尉张汤说：“伍被首先替淮南王筹划反叛的阴谋，他的罪行不能赦免。”于是就杀掉了伍被。淮南国被废除，改为九江郡。

衡山王刘赐，王后叫做乘舒，生有三个子女，长子刘爽立为太子，次子刘孝，次女刘无采。又有个姬妾叫徐来，生下子女四个，美人厥姬生下子女二人。衡山王与淮南王兄弟二人在礼节上互相责怪，两下隔阂，不大和睦。衡山王闻听淮南王准备谋反叛逆的器具，便也想结交宾客们，来应付这事，担心会被淮南王吞并。

元光六年(公元前129年)，衡山王入京朝见皇上，他的谒者卫庆有方术，想要上书侍奉天子，衡山王大怒，故意弹劾卫庆犯了死罪，竭力拷打他，使他服罪。衡山国的内史认为这样做不



officer reached Huainan, the prince killed himself. His consort Tu, his son Qian and the other conspirators were executed with all their families.

Since Wu Bei had spoken eloquently of the virtues of the Han Dynasty, the emperor wished to pardon him. But the chief justice said, "Wu Bei was the first to plot rebellion for the prince. His crime is unpardonable."

So Wu Bei was killed. The principality of Huainan was abolished, becoming the province of Jiujiang.

Liu Ci, the prince of Hengshan, and his consort Chengshu had three children: an elder son Shuang, the heir; a second son, Xiao; and a daughter named WuCai. The prince had four more children by his concubine Xulai, and another two by Lady Jueji.

The princes of Hengshan and Huainan although brothers were not on good terms, each accusing the other of courtesy. When the prince of Hengshan heard that the prince of Huainan was plotting rebellion, he started gathering protégés as a counter-measure, to prevent the seizure of his territory.

In the sixth year of *Yuanguang*, the prince of Hengshan went to court to pay homage. His herald Wei Qing, who had some knowledge of magic arts, asked to present a memorial to the throne offering his services to the emperor. The prince in a rage accused him of a capital crime and tortured him in order to obtain a confession. The city prefect of Hengshan did not believe the charge, however, and refused to

### 【原文】

狱。王使人上书告内史，内史治，言王不直。王又数侵夺人田，坏人家以为田。有司请逮治衡山王。天子不许，为置吏二百石以上。衡山王以此恚，与奚慈、张广昌谋，求能为兵法候星气者，日夜从容王密谋反事。

王后乘舒死，立徐来为王后。厥姬俱幸。两人相妒，厥姬乃恶王后徐来于太子曰：“徐来使婢蛊道杀太子母。”太子心怨徐来。徐来兄至衡山，太子与饮，以刃刺伤王后兄。王后怨怒，数毁恶太子于王。太子女弟无采，嫁弃归，与奴奸，又与客奸。太子数让无采，无采怒，不与太子通。王后闻之，即善遇无采。无采及中兄孝

### 【今译】

对，不受理此案。衡山王就派人上书告发内史，朝中的内史处治此案，认为衡山王不公。衡山王又屡次侵夺他人田地，毁坏人家的墓冢当作耕地。有关部门请求逮捕法办衡山王。天子不准许，而给他委任了二百石以上的官吏。衡山王因此怨恨，会同奚慈、张广昌密谋，寻求能够熟悉兵法和观测星象气候之人，这些人日夜与衡山王密谋反叛之事。

王后乘舒死后，立徐来做了王后。厥姬也一同受到宠幸。两人相互妒忌，厥姬便在太子跟前诋毁王后徐来说：“徐来派婢女用蛊道杀死了太子的母亲。”太子心中便怨恨起徐来。徐来的哥哥来到衡山国，太子同他饮酒，用刀刺伤了王后的哥哥。王后怨恨恼怒，屡屡向衡山王说太子的坏话。太子的妹妹刘无采，出嫁以后弃家而归，和奴仆通奸，又和宾客通奸。太子屡次责备无采，无采大怒，不与太子往来。王后听说此事，就善待无采。无采与二哥刘孝年幼就失去了母亲，便依附王后，王后设计宠爱他们，



prosecute. Then the prince impeached the city prefect. During his interrogation, the city prefect spoke of the prince's injustice, how more than once he had seized land from his subjects and destroyed grave yards to enlarge his estate. The authorities asked to have the prince arrested and tried, but the emperor withheld his consent, simply decreeing that all officers above the two hundred piculs rank should be appointed for him by the court. The prince of Hengshan, resenting this, began to plot with Xi Ci and Zhang Guangchang and search for strategists and astrologers. Day and night they met in secret to plot rebellion.

When the consort Chengshu died Xulai became the queen, but Lady Jueji remained a favourite too. Lady Jueji slandered her rival to Shuang, the crown prince, saying, "Xulai had a maid cast a spell on your mother to kill her." Because of this Shuang hated Queen Xulai, and when her brother came to Hengshan Shuang drew his sword and wounded him while drinking. Then the queen in her fury kept speaking ill of the crown prince to the prince of Hengshan.

The prince's daughter Wucai, who had left her husband and returned home, had illicit relations with a slave and a protégé. The heir apparent Shuang rebuked her for this several times, till she lost her temper and would have no more to do with him. When Queen Xulai knew this, she treated Wucai well. Since Wucai and her second brother Xiao had lost their mother early, they attached themselves to Xulai, who treated them kindly so that they would help her to slander the



## 【原文】

少失母，附王后，王后以计爱之，与共毁太子，王以故数击笞太子。元朔四年中，人有贼伤王后假母者，王疑太子使人伤之，笞太子。后王病，太子时称病不侍。孝、王后、无采恶太子：“太子实不病，自言病，有喜色。”王大怒，欲废太子，立其弟孝。王后知王决废太子，又欲并废孝。王后有侍者，善舞，王幸之，王后欲令侍者与孝乱以污之，欲并废兄弟而立其子广代太子。太子爽知之，念后数恶己无已时，欲与乱以止其口。王后饮，太子前为寿，因据王后股，求与王后卧。王后怒，以告王。王乃召，欲缚而笞之。太子知王常欲废己立其弟孝，乃谓王曰：“孝与王御者奸，无采与奴奸，王强食，请上书。”即倍王去。王使人止之，

## 【今译】

和他们一同来诋毁太子，衡山王因此多次鞭打太子。元朔四年（公元前125年）中，有人刺伤了王后的继母，衡山王疑心是太子派人刺伤的，就鞭打了太子。后来衡山王患病，太子时常借口有病而不去侍奉。刘孝、王后和刘无采诋毁太子道：“太子其实没病，自称有病，却面有喜色。”衡山王大怒，想要废黜太子，改立他的弟弟刘孝。王后得知衡山王决意要废掉太子，就又想一并废黜刘孝。王后有个侍女，擅长舞蹈，衡山王很宠幸她，王后就想让侍女与刘孝淫乱，用以玷污他，期望着能一同废黜掉兄弟俩而改立她的儿子刘广取代太子。太子刘爽得知此事，心想王后屡屡诋毁自己无休无止，想要和她淫乱来堵住她的嘴。王后饮酒之时，太子上前祝酒，趁机按住王后的大腿，请求同王后睡觉。王后大怒，把这事告诉给衡山王。衡山王便召太子前来，想要绑起来鞭打他。太子知晓衡山王常想废黜自己而改立他弟弟刘孝，于是就对衡山王说：“刘孝和大王的侍婢通奸，刘无采和家奴通奸，愿大王努力加餐保重，请允许我上书朝廷。”随即就掉转身离去。衡



crown prince. As a result of such slander, the prince had Shuang beaten several times.

In the fourth year of *Yuanshuo* someone attacked and injured Queen Xulai's nurse, and the prince, suspecting that Shuang was behind this, beat him again. Later the prince fell ill but Shuang did not wait upon him, pleading illness himself. Then the queen, Wucai and Xiao denounced the crown prince, saying, "He is not really ill, only shamming. In fact, he looks very pleased." The prince in his rage decided to disinherit Shuang and make his younger brother Xiao the heir.

When the queen knew of this decision, she schemed to have Xiao repudiated as well. One of her ladies in waiting was a good dancer who enjoyed the prince's favour, and the queen told her to seduce Xiao in order to discredit him, hoping that both brothers would be disinherited and her own son Guang become crown prince instead.

Shuang came to know of this plot and reflected that the only way to stop the queen's mouth was by becoming her lover. Advancing during a feast to offer a toast, he pressed her thigh and begged her to sleep with him. The queen flew into a rage and told the prince, who sent for the crown prince. He was about to have him bound and beaten when Shuang, who knew that his father had decided to disinherit him in favour of Xiao, said, "Xiao is the lover of your favourite dancer, and Wucai has been sleeping with a slave. This is true, whether you like it or

### 【原文】

莫能禁，乃自驾追捕太子。太子妄恶言，王械系太子宫中。孝日益亲幸。王奇孝材能，乃佩之王印，号曰将军，令居外宅，多给金钱，招致宾客。宾客来者，微知淮南、衡山有逆计，日夜从容劝之。王乃使孝客江都人救赫、陈喜作辒车餗矢，刻天子玺，将相军吏印。王日夜求壮士如周丘等，数称引吴楚反时计画，以约束。衡山王非敢效淮南王求即天子位，畏淮南起并其国，以为淮南已西，发兵定江淮之间而有之，望如是。

元朔五年秋，衡山王当朝，过淮南，淮南王乃昆弟语，除前

### 【今译】

山王派人去拦阻他，没人能阻止得了，于是他便亲自驾车追捕太子。太子乱讲坏话，衡山王把太子用镣铐拘禁在王宫里面。刘孝一天天地愈加亲近衡山王而受宠。衡山王对刘孝的才能很惊奇，就让他佩带上王印，号称将军，让他居住在宫外的住宅里，赐给很多的金钱，招揽宾客。来的宾客都暗暗知晓淮南王和衡山王有谋逆、反叛的打算，就日夜怂恿、劝说他。衡山王于是便让刘孝的宾客江都人救赫、陈喜制造战车、弓箭，刻天子的玺印以及将相、军吏的官印。衡山王日夜寻求像周丘等人一般的壮士，屡屡援引吴、楚反叛时的计谋，用以约束部属。衡山王并不敢仿效淮南王那样，谋求登上天子之位，只是畏惧淮南王起事后吞并他的国家，一心认为淮南王西进之后，他就可发兵平定并占据江淮之间的地区，期望就是如此。

元朔五年(公元前124年)的秋天，衡山王理当朝见天子，在路过淮南国时，淮南王就讲了一番兄弟私语，消除了他们从前的



not. I am going to report it to the emperor." With that he turned and left. The prince sent a man to stop him but in vain. Then he drove off himself in pursuit and arrested him. He put him in chains and imprisoned him in the palace because of his slanderous and reckless talk.

Then Xiao rose daily in favour. The prince thought so highly of his ability that he gave him a royal seal and the title of general, let him set up a separate establishment and supplied him with plenty of money to collect followers. The protégés that came to him knew that the princes of Huainan and Hengshan were plotting rebellion, so they urged him day and night to take action. The prince told two of them, Jiu He and Chen Xi, both citizens of Jiangdu, to prepare war chariots and arrows and forge imperial seals as well as the seals of generals, ministers and army officers. Day and night the prince searched for strong men like Zhou Qiu, who discussed the plans of the rebels of Wu and Chu and urged him to do likewise. The prince did not aspire to the imperial throne like the prince of Huainan, but was afraid his brother, starting a revolt, might seize his territory. All he meant to do, should the prince of Huainan march west, was to send troops to hold the region between the Yangtse and the Huai Rivers.

In the autumn of the fifth year of *Yuanshuo*, the prince of Hengshan was due to go to court. But in the sixth year he visited Huainan, cleared up past misunderstandings with his brother and agreed to join his revolt.



## 【原文】

却，约束反具。衡山王即上书谢病，上赐书不朝。

元朔六年中，衡山王使人上书请废太子爽，立孝为太子。爽闻，即使所善白羸之长安上书，言孝作輶车镞矢，与王御者奸，欲以败孝。白羸至长安，未及上书，吏捕羸，以淮南事系。王闻爽使白羸上书，恐言国阴事，即上书反告太子爽所为不道弃市罪事。事下沛郡治。元狩元年冬，有司公卿下沛郡求捕所与淮南谋反者未得，得陈喜于衡山王子孝家。吏劾孝首匿喜。孝以为陈喜雅数与王计谋反，恐其发之，闻律先自告除其罪，又疑太子使白羸上书发其事，即先自告，告所与谋反者救赫、陈喜等。廷尉治

## 【今译】

嫌隙，约好制造反叛的器具。衡山王便上书托辞有病，皇上赐下诏书，准许他不来朝见。

元朔六年(公元前123年)中，衡山王派人上书朝廷，请求废掉太子刘爽，改立刘孝为太子。刘爽闻听，当即派遣和他友善的白羸到长安去上书，控告刘孝制造战车和弓箭，和衡山王的侍女通奸，想要以此来败坏刘孝。白羸到了长安，还没来得及上书，官吏们就逮捕了他，认为他与淮南王的谋反之事有牵连。衡山王听说刘爽派白羸上书，惟恐说出国中的阴谋，当即就上书反告太子刘爽犯有大逆不道的罪行，应当判处斩首示众。案子交付沛郡处治。元狩元年(公元前122年)冬，有关部门的公卿大臣到沛郡去搜捕参与淮南王谋反的人，没有抓到，而在衡山王的儿子刘孝家中抓到了陈喜。官吏弹劾刘孝带头藏匿陈喜。刘孝认为陈喜以前数次参与衡山王谋反之事，担心他会告发，又听说法律规定，先去自首的可免除罪责，又疑心太子派白羸上书告发谋反的事，就先去自首，告发参与谋反的救赫、陈喜等人。廷尉查处验明，



Then the prince of Hengshan sent a letter to court pleading illness, and the emperor wrote him a letter exempting him from paying homage at court.

In the sixth year of *Yuanshuo* the prince of Hengshan sent a petition to the emperor asking permission to disinherit Shuang and make Xiao crown prince in his place. Shuang, hearing of this, got a friend named Bai Ying to go to Chang'an and present a report to the emperor accusing Xiao of preparing war chariots and arrows and having an affair with one of the prince's dancing girls. He hoped in this way to finish Xiao. Bai Ying reached Chang'an but for his part in the Huainan plot was arrested before he could present this report.

The prince of Hengshan, learning of Bai Ying's mission and dreading exposure, sent a letter to the emperor accusing Shuang of wicked deeds for which he deserved execution in the marketplace. This matter was referred to the governor of Pei.

In the winter of the seventh year of *Yuanshuo*, the government ordered the governor of Pei to round up and arrest all those who had conspired with the prince of Huainan. Then Chen Xi was apprehended in the house of the prince's son Xiao, and Xiao was charged with harbouring a felon. Xiao knew how often Chen Xi had plotted rebellion with the prince and was afraid the whole affair might come out. He had heard that according to the law an informer would be pardoned and, since he suspected that the report Bai Ying had taken for the crown prince laid bare the conspiracy, he came forward to inform against Jiu He, Chen Xi and the other conspirators.

## 【原文】

验，公卿请逮捕衡山王治之。天子曰：“勿捕。”遣中尉安、大行息即问王，王具以情实对。吏皆围王宫而守之。中尉大行还，以闻，公卿请遣宗正、大行与沛郡杂治王。王闻，即自刭杀。孝先自告反，除其罪；坐与王御婢奸，弃市。王后徐来亦坐蛊杀前王后乘舒，及太子爽坐王告不孝，皆弃市。诸与衡山王谋反者皆族。国除为衡山郡。

太史公曰：《诗》之所谓“戎狄是膺，荆舒是惩”，信哉是言也。淮南、衡山亲为骨肉，疆土千里，列为诸侯，不务遵藩臣职以承辅天子，而专挟邪僻之计，谋为畔逆，仍父子再亡国，各

## 【今译】

公卿大臣们请求逮捕衡山王加以惩治。天子说：“不要抓。”而派遣中尉司马安、大行令李息前去讯问衡山王，衡山王把实情全都做了回答。官吏们全都包围住王宫，把守起来。中尉和大行令还朝，把事情做了汇报，公卿大臣请求派遣宗正和大行令会同沛郡一起来处治衡山王。衡山王闻听，当即自刎而死。刘孝首先自首谋反的事，免除了罪责；但因为犯有和衡山王侍女通奸之罪，被斩首示众。王后徐来也因犯有用蛊术杀死前王后乘舒之罪，以及太子刘爽被衡山王控告犯有不孝之罪，全都斩首示众。所有参与衡山王谋反的人全被灭了族。衡山国被废除，改做了衡山郡。

太史公说：《诗经》上所说的“抗击戎、狄之人，惩处荆、舒之国”，这话真对呀。淮南王和衡山王是至亲骨肉，疆土千里，位居诸侯，却不致力于遵循藩国属臣的职责，来辅助天子，却一心怀着邪僻的心计，谋反叛逆，父子先后两次亡国，每一个



The chief justice examined the case and found the charges true. Then the high ministers asked to have the prince of Hengshan arrested and brought to trial. The emperor would not permit this, however, but sent the metropolitan tribune Sima An and the imperial herald Li Xi to question the prince, who made a full confession. The authorities set a watch upon his palace, while the metropolitan tribune and imperial herald went back to report to the court. The high ministers asked to have the imperial clan officer, the imperial herald and the governor of Pei sent to try the prince together. And when the prince heard this, he took his own life. Since Xiao had volunteered information, he was pardoned for his part in the plot to rebel but was executed in the market-place for his illicit relations with the prince's maid. Queen Xulai was charged with murdering Queen Chengshu, Shuang with the unfilial behaviour of which his father had accused him. They too were executed in the market-place. All the conspirators were killed along with their families. The principality was abolished, becoming the province of Hengshan.

The Grand Historian comments: Well does the *Book of Songs* say: "The northern barbarians should be punished, and those of Jing and Shu chastised." The princes of Huainan and Hengshan were the emperor's kinsmen and ruled as princes over a thousand *li* of territory. Yet instead of assisting their sovereign as good vassals, they took to evil courses and plotted high treason. Thus both fathers and sons lost their



### 【原文】

不终其身，为天下笑。此非独王过也，亦其俗薄，臣下渐靡使然也。夫荆楚剽勇轻悍，好作乱，乃自古记之矣。

### 【今译】

都没有得以善终，身为天下人所耻笑。这也并非只是为王的过错，也是由于那里民俗浅薄，臣子们浸染相从造成的。荆楚之人凶悍勇猛、轻捷强劲，喜好作乱，这是从古代就有过记载的了。



land and perished themselves, becoming a laughing-stock throughout the empire. The fault lay not solely with the kings, however, for the local traditions were bad and their ministers led them into evil ways. The men of Jing and Chu are reckless, foolhardy and quick to revolt, as has been recorded since ancient times.

<sup>1</sup> 199 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Guan and Cai were brothers of the duke of Zhou.

<sup>3</sup> 139 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> 126 B.C.



## 汲郑列传

### 【原文】

汲黯字长孺，濮阳人也。其先有宠于古之卫君。至黯七世，世为卿大夫。黯以父任，孝景时为太子洗马，以庄见惮。孝景帝崩，太子即位，黯为谒者。东越相攻，上使黯往视之。不至，至吴而还，报曰：“越人相攻，固其俗然，不足以辱天子之使。”河内失火，延烧千余家，上使黯往视之。还报曰：“家人失火，屋比延烧，不足忧也。臣过河南，河南贫人伤水旱万余家，或父子相食，臣谨以便宜，持节发河南仓粟以振贫民。臣请归节，伏矫制

### 【今译】

汲黯字长孺，是濮阳人。他的祖先受到过古时卫君的宠幸。到汲黯时共七代，世代都担任卿大夫。汲黯靠了父亲的任官保举，在孝景帝的时候做了太子洗马，因为严厉，很为人所敬畏。孝景帝去世，太子即位，汲黯做了谒者。东越人互相攻打起来，皇上派汲黯前往视察。他没到东越，只到了吴地就回来了，汇报说：“越人自己互相攻打，他们的习俗本就是这样，不值得屈尊天子使臣前往。”河内发生了火灾，火势蔓延烧毁了一千多家房屋，皇上就派汲黯前往视察。他回来汇报说：“是平民家失火，蔓延到了邻近的房屋，不值得担忧。我路过河南时，河南的贫民因水旱灾害毁伤了一万多家，有的父子相食，我谨慎地做了灵活处置，持朝廷的符节打开了河南郡的粮仓，把谷米赈济给了贫民。



## Ji An and Zheng Dangshi

Ji An, whose courtesy name was Changru, was a man of Puyang. One of his ancestors had been favoured by a former prince of Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.), since when seven generations of the family down to Ji An had served as ministers. On his father's recommendation, Ji An became one of the crown prince's outriders in the reign of Emperor Jing, and his impressive bearing commanded respect. Upon Emperor Jing's death and the crown prince's accession to the throne, Ji An was appointed imperial herald.

When the tribes of Dongyue started fighting among themselves, the emperor sent Ji An to make an investigation. He went no further than Wu, returning to report, "The men of Yue make a practice of fighting each other. The Son of Heaven need not stoop to send an envoy."

When a fire in Henan burned down more than a thousand houses, the emperor sent him again to investigate. On his return Ji An reported, "The houses were so close together that the fire breaking out in one spread to the rest. There is no reason to worry. But on my way through Henan I found more than ten thousand poor families reduced to such desperation by floods and drought that sons and fathers were eating one another. I took the liberty of using my credentials to order grain to be distributed from the public granaries there to relieve them. Allow me to return my credentials and ask to be punished for overstepping my authority."



### 【原文】

之罪。”上贤而释之，迁为荥阳令。黯耻为令，病归田里。上闻，乃召拜为中大夫。以数切谏，不得久留内，迁为东海太守。黯学黄老之言，治官理民，好清静，择丞史而任之。其治，责大指而已，不苛小。黯多病，卧闺阁内不出。岁余，东海大治。称之。上闻，召以为主爵都尉，列于九卿。治务在无为而已，弘大体，不拘文法。

黯为人性倨，少礼，面折，不能容人之过。合己者善待之，不合己者不能忍见，士亦以此不附焉。然好学，游侠，任气节，内行修洁，好直谏，数犯主之颜色，常慕傅柏、袁盎之为人也。善灌

### 【今译】

我请求把符节归还朝廷，自认犯有假传圣旨的罪行。”皇上认为他很贤能，就开释了他，调任他做了荥阳令。汲黯耻于做县令，就称病回了故里。皇上听说后，就召他来担任中大夫。因为他屡次直言劝谏皇上，没办法长期留在宫内，就又调任做了东海太守。汲黯研习黄老的学说，治理官吏百姓，喜好清静无为，挑选了一些丞史书吏，委以政事。他治理政务，只是督察施政大纲而已，并不苛求小的缺失。汲黯身体多病，常躺卧于寝室内不出门。过了一年多，东海得以大治。人们都大为称誉他。皇上听到后，就召他来担任主爵都尉，位居九卿之列。他治理政务只是清静无为而已，推广大的原则，不拘泥于法令条文。

汲黯为人性情傲慢，缺少礼数，当面指摘别人，不能容忍别人的过失。对于和自己合得来的人，他就善待人家，而对于和自己合不来的人，却不肯耐心接见，士人们也都因此不去依附他。然而他喜好学习，爱行侠仗义，在家中品性端正、廉洁，喜欢直言进谏，屡次当面冒犯君王，他常羡慕傅柏、袁盎的为人处世之



But Emperor Wu approved and pardoned him, transferring him to the magistracy of Xingyang. Ji An scorned the post, however, and went home on the pretext of illness. When the emperor came to know this, he summoned him and appointed him a court adviser. But his constant remonstrances made it impossible to keep him at court and he was transferred to the governorship of Donghai.

Ji An studied the teachings of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi, and his administration was easy-going. He entrusted affairs to specially selected assistants, concerning himself with the main issues only and not troubling with trifles. He was often ill and confined to his room, yet after a year or more Donghai was so well governed that the people praised him. As soon as the emperor knew this, he summoned him to court to be the officer in charge of the principalities, one of the nine chief ministers. Again he pursued a laissez-faire policy, dealing only with great matters and disregarding the letter of the law.

Ji An was by nature arrogant and offhanded. He denounced men to their faces and could not tolerate any shortcomings. Those whom he found congenial he treated well; the uncongenial he could not even bear to see. Thus he had few friends among the literati. He stood up for the right, however, had great moral courage, and was scrupulously honest. He liked to speak his mind and often offended the emperor by his remonstrances. He admired men like Fu Bo and Yuan Ang, and was on friendly terms with Guan Fu, Zheng Dangshi and Liu Qi, the officer of the imperial clan. Owing to his outspoken criticisms, he could



## 【原文】

夫、郑当时及宗正刘弃。亦以数直谏，不得久居位。

当是时，太后弟武安侯蚡为丞相，中二千石来拜谒，蚡不为礼。然黯见蚡未尝拜，常揖之。天子方招文学儒者，上曰吾欲云云，黯对曰：“陛下内多欲而外施仁义，奈何欲效唐虞之治乎！”上默然，怒，变色而罢朝。公卿皆为黯惧。上退，谓左右曰：“甚矣，汲黯之戆也！”群臣或数黯，黯曰：“天子置公卿辅弼之臣，宁令从谀承意，陷主于不义乎？且已在其位，纵爱身，奈辱朝廷何？”

黯多病，病且满三月，上常赐告者数，终不愈。最后病，庄

## 【今译】

道。他和灌夫、郑当时以及宗正刘弃相友善。他也正因为屡次直言进谏，没能久居高位。

这时期，正值太后的弟弟武安侯田蚡做丞相，中二千石级的官员前来拜谒他，田蚡不去答礼。可当汲黯谒见田蚡时就未曾行过拜礼，常常只是揖手作礼。天子正招选文学儒生，皇上刚说道我要怎样怎样，汲黯就对答说：“陛下内心欲望很多，却要在表面广施仁义，又怎么能效法唐尧、虞舜的治国之道呢！”皇上默不作声，发了怒，脸色大变，罢了朝会。公卿大臣都替汲黯害怕。皇上退朝后，对左右的人说：“汲黯憨直得也太厉害了！”群臣中有人责备汲黯，汲黯却说：“天子设置公卿和辅弼的大臣，难道就是让他们阿谀奉承，而把主上陷于不义之地吗？况且我已身居其位，纵使想要爱惜自己的身体，可辱没了国家又当如何呢？”

汲黯体弱多病，病了将满三个月，皇上曾数次赐他休假，却始终不得痊愈。他最后一次发病时，庄助替他请求休假。皇上就



never remain in one position for long.

That was the time when the empress dowager's younger brother Tian Fen, marquis of Wuan, was prime minister. Officials of the two thousand piculs rank who bowed to him would receive no return of courtesy, but Ji An never bowed to him, merely raising clasped hands in salute.

The emperor had summoned various scholars and Confucians to court and was telling them of certain wishes he had.

Ji An said to him, "Your Majesty's heart is full of desires, yet you make a show of benevolence and justice. How can you hope to imitate Yao and Shun?"

The emperor was silent. Scowling angrily he left the court, while all the ministers trembled for Ji An. Once out of the court the emperor told his attendants, "Ji An is too confoundedly blunt!"

But when some officials cautioned Ji An he said, "The Son of Heaven appoints ministers to assist his rule. Are we to flatter him and agree to his wishes till we encourage him to take a dangerous course? In our position we must not try to save our own necks at the cost of disgracing the court."

Ji An was often ill for more than the three months allowed. The emperor several times extended his leave, but he never wholly recovered.

## 【原文】

助为请告。上曰：“汲黯何如人哉？”助曰：“使黯任职居官，无以逾人。然至其辅少主，守城深坚，招之不来，麾之不去，虽自谓贲育亦不能夺之矣。”上曰：“然。古有社稷之臣，至如黯，近之矣。”

大将军青侍中，上踞厕而视之。丞相弘燕见，上或时不冠。至如黯见，上不冠不见也。上尝坐武帐中，黯前奏事，上不冠，望见黯，避帐中，使人可其奏。其见敬礼如此。

张汤方以更定律令为廷尉，黯数质责汤于上前，曰：“公为正卿，上不能褒先帝之功业，下不能抑天下之邪心，安国富民，使图

## 【今译】

问道：“汲黯是怎样的一个人呀？”庄助答道：“让汲黯任职为官，没有什么过人之处。然而至于说到他辅助幼主，却能牢稳坚定地守住基业，别人无法诱他前来，也赶不走他，即使是自称为孟贲、夏育的人也不能改变他的志向。”皇上说：“是这样的。古来就有辅弼社稷的臣子，至于汲黯这样的，就近似于他们了。”

大将军卫青侍奉宫中，皇上蹲在床边召见他。丞相公孙弘私下里进见皇上，皇上有的时候就连帽子也不戴。等到汲黯进见时，皇上不戴好帽子都不去接见他。皇上曾经坐在武帐中，汲黯近前面奏政事，皇上没戴帽子，远远望见汲黯来了，就躲入帐中，让别人代替批准了他的奏报。他被尊敬、礼遇到了如此地步。

张汤刚刚因为参与改定刑律法令担任了廷尉，汲黯就屡屡在皇上面前质问、指责张汤，他说：“您身为正卿，对上没能发扬先帝的功业，对下没能抑制住天下人的邪念，或是让国家安定，百



Once Zhuang Zhu came to request sick leave for him.

"What do you think of Ji An?" asked Emperor Wu.

"In discharging ordinary official duties he is not outstanding," said Zhuang Zhu. "But if called on to help a young ruler or defend a city, he could not be won over or frightened away. Even brave men like Meng Pen and Xia Yu<sup>1</sup> could not shake him."

"True," said the emperor. "In the old days they spoke of ministers who would die for the state. Ji An seems a man of that sort."

When the grand marshal Wei Qing came to court, the emperor would not rise to greet him. When the prime minister Gongsun Hong saw him in private, the emperor did not always cover his head. But for Ji An he invariably put a hat on. Once Emperor Wu was seated on his curtained throne surrounded by guards when Ji An came to present a memorial. Since the emperor's head was bare, at Ji An's approach he hid himself behind the curtain, telling someone else to accept the memorial. This illustrates Emperor Wu's respect for him.

Zhang Tang had just been made chief justice for his work in revising the legal code, yet Ji An often denounced him in the presence of the emperor saying, "You are a high minister, but what have you done to carry forward the former emperor's achievements, curb men's evil desires, pacify the state, enrich the people, or empty the prisons of



## 【原文】

固空虚，二者无一焉。非苦就行，放析就功，何乃取高皇帝约束纷更之为？公以此无种矣。”黯时与汤论议，汤辩常在文深小苛，黯伉厉守高不能屈，忿发骂曰：“天下谓刀笔吏不可以为公卿，果然。必汤也，令天下重足而立，侧目而视矣！”

是时，汉方征匈奴，招怀四夷。黯务少事，乘上间，常言与胡和亲，无起兵。上方向儒术，尊公孙弘。及事益多，吏民巧弄。上分别文法，汤等数奏决谳以幸。而黯常毁儒，面触弘等徒怀诈饰智以阿人主取容，而刀笔吏专深文巧诋，陷人于罪，使不得反其真，

## 【今译】

姓富足，或是使得监狱中犯人减少，这两样中一样也没办到。靠罗织罪名，使人受苦来办案行事，靠任意断案来成就功名，为什么竟要把高皇帝时的律令拿来乱加改动呢？您因为这样做会落得族灭无后的。”汲黯当时和张汤辩论争议，张汤争辩时常常在一些文辞细小处苛求探究，汲黯则抗直峻厉，高谈阔论，却没能驳倒张汤，就忿忿地骂道：“天下有所谓的刀笔小吏，不能让他们做公卿，真是这样。如果真如张汤所言，就将使天下人叠起脚来，站立不动，连眼睛也只能斜视了。”

这时，正值汉朝征讨匈奴，招抚四方蛮夷。汲黯务求省事，趁着皇上空闲之机，经常进言和匈奴和亲，不去兴兵征讨。皇上正偏向于儒术，尊宠公孙弘。等到政事增多，官吏百姓取巧弄法。皇上分增了一些法律条文，张汤等人屡次把判决的案件上奏给皇上，因而受到了宠信。可是汲黯却常常诋毁儒术，当面责难公孙弘等人只是心怀欺诈、外显智巧来阿谀取悦于主上，而刀笔小吏们又专门深究律条、巧言诋毁，污陷罪责，使之难以恢复其

criminals? You have done none of these things, yet you make a point of finding fault with others. You would stoop to anything to win some credit. How dare you tamper with the rules laid down by Emperor Gaozu? For this you and your family should be wiped out!"

Whenever Ji An argued with Zhang Tang, the chief justice split hairs about the law, whereas Ji An kept stubbornly to principles and refused to compromise. He would fume, "How right people are to say that pen-pushers should never be made high officials! If Zhang Tang had his way, no one would dare take a step forward or look men straight in the eye."

At that time the Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) court had sent out expeditions against the Huns and was trying to win over all the frontier tribes. Ji An, who believed in not making trouble, seized every chance to urge the emperor to make peace with the Huns and stop raising armies. But the emperor then leaned towards Confucianism and thought highly of Gongsun Hong, and as the administration became more complex the people grew cunning at evading the law. Emperor Wu was well versed in the legal code and Zhang Tang and others courted his favour by proposing measures which met with his approval. But Ji An spoke up against the Confucians, attacking Gongsun Hong and others to their faces for trying to ingratiate themselves by flattery and cunning. He declared that these pettifoggers twisted the law to ruin men, obscuring the truth to win credit for themselves at the expense of the people. The



### 【原文】

以胜为功。上愈益贵弘、汤，弘、汤深心疾黯，唯天子亦不说也，欲诛之以事。弘为丞相，乃言上曰：“右内史界部中多贵人宗室，难治，非素重臣不能任，请徙黯为右内史。”为右内史数岁，官事不废。

大将军青既益尊，姊为皇后，然黯与亢礼。人或说黯曰：“自天子欲群臣下大将军，大将军尊重益贵，君不可以不拜。”黯曰：“夫以大将军有揖客，反不重邪？”大将军闻，愈贤黯，数请问国家朝廷所疑，遇黯过于平生。

淮南王谋反，惮黯，曰：“好直谏，守节死义，难惑以非。至

### 【今译】

真相，以稳操胜券作为功劳。皇上因而更加尊宠公孙弘和张汤，公孙弘和张汤心中深恨汲黯，就连天子也不喜欢他，想要借故杀了他。公孙弘担任丞相，就向皇上进言道：“右内史所管辖的地区有很多贵族皇亲，难于治理，不是平素朝中的重臣不能担此重任，请求朝廷调汲黯去做右内史。”汲黯担任右内史几年间，公事从没废弛过。

大将军卫青日益尊贵之后，他的姐姐做了皇后，可是汲黯还是和他行平等的礼节。有人就劝说汲黯道：“从天子那里要群臣都对大将军谦恭自下，如今大将军备受尊重、日益显贵，您不应该不行跪拜礼。”汲黯说：“让大将军有拱手见礼的客人，反而不是更让人敬重他吗？”大将军闻听，更加觉得汲黯很贤能，屡次向他请教国家朝廷中的疑难问题，比平素更加看重汲黯了。

淮南王谋反时，畏惧汲黯，说：“此人喜好直言进谏，甘愿守节，为正义而死，很难用不法之事蛊惑他。至于劝说丞相公孙



emperor, however, valued Gongsun Hong and Zhang Tang more and more. These two, for their part, loathed and detested Ji An. Even the emperor was displeased with him and would have been glad of some excuse to kill him.

Gongsun Hong the prime minister told the emperor, "The area under the jurisdiction of the senior city prefect of the capital contains so many nobles and members of the imperial clan that it is difficult to administer. Only a most prominent official is up to the task. I suggest that Ji An be appointed senior city prefect." So for several years Ji An served in this capacity and affairs were well administered.

The grand marshal Wei Qing was becoming more and more exalted now that his elder sister was the empress, yet Ji An continued to treat him as an equal.

Someone said to Ji An, "The emperor wants all other ministers to defer to the grand marshal, that is why he is heaping all these honours on him. You really should bow to him, sir."

But Ji An replied, "If the grand marshal lets a visitor simply raise clasped hands in greeting, will that not make men respect him even more?"

When the grand marshal heard this, Ji An rose in his estimation. He frequently consulted him on state and court affairs and treated him with special consideration.

When the prince of Huainan was plotting rebellion he was afraid of Ji An. "A man who speaks out frankly and would die for his principles is hard to corrupt," he said. "As for winning over Gongsun Hong,

**【原文】**

如说丞相弘，如发蒙振落耳。”天子既数征匈奴有功，黯之言益不用。

始黯列为九卿，而公孙弘、张汤为小吏。及弘、汤稍益贵，与黯同位，黯又非毁弘、汤等。已而弘至丞相，封为侯；汤至御史大夫；故黯时丞相史皆与黯同列，或尊用过之。黯偏心，不能无少望，见上，前言曰：“陛下用群臣如积薪耳，后来者居上。”上默然。有间黯罢，上曰：“人果不可以无学，观黯之言也日益甚。”

居无何，匈奴浑邪王率众来降，汉发车二万乘。县官无钱，从民贳马。民或匿马，马不具。上怒，欲斩长安令。黯曰：“长安令

**【今译】**

弘，就如同掀开蒙布、摇落树叶而已。”天子已经屡次征伐匈奴，创下了功绩，汲黯的话就更不被采用了。

起初汲黯位居九卿之列的时候，公孙弘、张汤还只是小官吏。等到公孙弘和张汤逐渐地更加显贵起来，和汲黯同居高位时，汲黯又责难诋毁公孙弘、张汤等人。过后不久，公孙弘升到丞相，封为列侯；张汤升到御史大夫；从前汲黯手下的丞相、史全都升迁到和汲黯同等之列，有的被重用还超过了他。汲黯为人的心地狭窄，不能不产生一些怨恨，朝见皇上时，他上前说道：“陛下您任用群臣有如堆柴草一般，后来的反摆在上头。”皇上默不作声。过了一会汲黯退下，皇上就说：“做人确实不可以不学无术，看看汲黯说的这些话，他是一天比一天过分了。”

过了不久，匈奴浑邪王率领部众前来归降，汉朝征发了二万乘车辆去接运。官家府库没钱，就向百姓们借用马匹。百姓中有人把马藏匿起来，马匹凑不齐。皇上发怒，想要斩了长安县令。



that is as easy as lifting off a cover or shaking down withered leaves."

By now several successful campaigns against the Huns made Emperor Wu pay even less attention to Ji An's advice. Ji An had been one of the nine chief ministers when Gongsun Hong and Zhang Tang held only minor posts. Now they had risen in importance to rank equal with him, yet Ji An continued to point out their mistakes. Gongsun Hong was the prime minister, enfeoffed as a marquis, while Zhang Tang was the grand secretary. These men who had been clerks when Ji An was prime minister now ranked as high as he did, or even higher. Ji An was too narrow-minded to tolerate this, and going to see the emperor he said, "Your Majesty appoints ministers in the way men stack firewood: the latest to arrive are piled on top."

The emperor said nothing till Ji An had withdrawn, when he exclaimed, "A man really needs to study! Look at Ji An. He is talking more outrageously every day."

Soon after this the Hunnish chief of Hunye surrendered with his men, and the government decided to send twenty thousand chariots to bring them to Chang'an. Since the administration was short of funds, horses had to be requisitioned from the people, but so many hid their horses that the necessary number was not forthcoming. The emperor was angry and wanted to execute the magistrate of Chang'an.



### 【原文】

无罪，独斩黯，民乃肯出马。且匈奴畔其主而降汉，汉徐以县次传之，何至令天下骚动，罢弊中国而以事夷狄之人乎！”上默然。及浑邪至，贾人与市者，坐当死者五百余人。黯请间，见高门，曰：“夫匈奴攻当路塞，绝和亲，中国兴兵诛之，死伤者不可胜计，而费以巨万百数。臣愚以为陛下得胡人，皆以为奴婢以赐从军死者家；所卤获，因予之，以谢天下之苦，塞百姓之心。今纵不能，浑邪率数万之众来降，虚府库赏赐，发良民侍养，譬若奉骄子。愚民安知市买长安中物而文吏绳以为阑出财物于边关乎？陛下纵不能得

### 【今译】

汲黯说：“长安县令没有罪，只有杀了我汲黯，百姓才肯献出马匹。况且匈奴人背叛了他们的主上前来降汉，汉朝只要慢慢地由各县依次用传车运送他们即可，又何至于让天下人心骚动，让国之中心陷于疲敝而来侍奉那些匈奴人呢！”皇上默不作声。等到浑邪王到了，跟匈奴来降者做买卖的商人当中，犯法被处死的有五百多人。汲黯请求私下面见皇上，在高门殿受到了接见，他说：“匈奴人曾经攻打汉朝的当路要塞，断绝和亲之盟，中原发兵去讨伐他们，死伤的人不计其数，费资数百万。我愚笨，以为陛下获得了匈奴人，都应把他们当做奴婢赐给从军战死者的家属；把缴获来的财物，也都分给他们，也好慰藉天下人的劳苦，满足百姓的心愿。如今纵使不能这样，而浑邪王率领数万部众前来归降，却要掏空了国家府库大加赏赐，征发善良百姓侍奉供养他们，如同奉养宠儿一般。无知百姓怎会知道买卖长安城里的物品，会被舞文弄墨的法吏以妄自买卖货物出边关的罪名绳之以法呢？陛下纵使不能拿缴来的匈奴的物资来慰劳天下人，却又用隐约



"The magistrate is not to blame. Just cut off my head," said Ji An, "then the people may produce their horses. In any case, those Huns rebelled against their khan to surrender to us. Why not have them sent here by stages from county to county instead of turning the whole empire upside down and exhausting the Middle Kingdom for the sake of barbarians?"

The emperor was silent.

After the arrival of the chief of Hunye, more than five hundred merchants in the capital were condemned to death for trading with the Huns. Then Ji An asked for a private interview with the emperor in Gaomen Hall.

"The Huns attacked our frontier posts and broke off friendly relations," he said. "So we raised armies to subdue them. Countless men have been killed or wounded and millions of cash spent. In my humble opinion, all captured Huns should be given as slaves to the families of those who fell in the wars, along with all the booty, to atone to the people for their pains and comfort their hearts. Instead of this, however, when the chief of Hunye surrenders with his horde we empty our treasury to offer them gifts and make loyal subjects serve them as if they were favourite children. How are the people in their ignorance to know that trading with the Huns in Chang'an counts as shipping contraband goods outside the frontier? You are not making use of the

**【原文】**

匈奴之资以谢天下，又以微文杀无知者五百余人，是所谓‘庇其叶而伤其枝’者也，臣窃为陛下不取也。”上默然，不许，曰：“吾久不闻汲黯之言，今又复妄发矣。”后数月，黯坐小法，会赦免官。于是黯隐身于田园。

居数年，会更五铢钱，民多盗铸钱，楚地尤甚。上以为淮阳，楚地之郊，乃召拜黯为淮阳太守。黯伏谢不受印，诏数强予，然后奉诏。诏召见黯，黯为上泣曰：“臣自以为填沟壑，不复见陛下，不意陛下复收用之。臣常有狗马病，力不能任郡事，臣愿为中郎，出入禁闼，补过拾遗，臣之愿也。”上曰：“君薄淮阳邪？吾今召

**【今译】**

不明的法律条文斩杀无知百姓五百多人，这就是所谓‘庇护树叶却使树枝受到损伤’之类的事，我私下认为陛下不宜采取如此做法。”皇上默不作声，没有许可，说道：“我有好久没有听到汲黯的话了，如今他又再次妄发议论了。”过了几个月后，汲黯犯了小罪，正遇大赦，就被罢了官。这样汲黯就隐居到田乡居去了。

过了几年，恰逢改铸五铢钱，百姓中有很多人盗铸钱币，以楚地最为严重。皇上认为淮阳郡属楚国地界，就召汲黯来任命他做了淮阳太守。汲黯伏地辞谢，不肯接受官印，诏令屡次强迫给他，这之后他才接受了诏命。诏令召汲黯进见，汲黯向皇上哭诉道：“我自以为将要身死沟壑之中，不能再见到陛下了，没想到陛下能再次收录起用我。我常患贱病，体力难以胜任郡中政事，我甘愿做个中郎，出入于宫禁之中，负责替您拾遗补阙，这是我的愿望。”皇上说：“您是不是轻视淮阳郡呢？我即刻就召您回来。



Huns to placate the empire but using some trifling legal clause to kill five hundred and more simple people. This is known as ‘protecting the leaves but harming the bough’. I think, sir, you have made the wrong decision.”

The emperor listened in silence, then rejected Ji An’s advice. “It is some time since I heard from Ji An,” he said. “Now he is raving again.”

Some months later Ji An was charged with some trifling offence and his sentence was commuted to loss of office. He therefore retired to the country.

Several years after this, when the new *wuzhu* coins were issued; a great deal of counterfeit money was minted, especially in Chu. Considering Huaiyang as a focal point in Chu, the emperor summoned Ji An to court and appointed him governor of Huaiyang, Ji An kowtowed and declined the seal, but Emperor Wu insisted until he had to accept.

When summoned to an audience Ji An shed tears and said, “I expected to die and be thrown into a ditch without setting eyes on Your Majesty again, yet now you have recalled me. But this miserable illness of mine has left me too weak to administer a prefecture. All I ask is to serve as a palace guard always at Your Majesty’s side, able to remind you of shortcomings that may have escaped your attention.”



## 【原文】

君矣。顾淮阳吏民不相得，吾徒得君之重，卧而治之。”黯既辞行，过大行李息，曰：“黯弃居郡，不得与朝廷议也。然御史大夫张汤智足以拒谏，诈足以饰非，务巧佞之语，辩数之辞，非肯正为天下言，专阿主意。主意所不欲，因而毁之；主意所欲，因而誉之。好兴事，舞文法，内怀诈以御主心，外挟贼吏以为威重。公列九卿，不早言之，公与之俱受其谬矣。”息畏汤，终不敢言。黯居郡如故治，淮阳政清。后张汤果败，上闻黯与息言，抵息罪。令黯以诸侯相秩居淮阳。七岁而卒。

卒后，上以黯故，官其弟汲仁至九卿，子汲偃至诸侯相。黯

## 【今译】

只是淮阳郡那里官吏和百姓不大融洽，我仅想藉重您的威望，您足不出户就能治理好。”汲黯辞行之后，去拜望大行李息，说道：“我被抛弃到外郡去，没办法参与朝廷议政。然而御史大夫张汤智谋足可以抗拒别人的劝谏，奸诈得足可以文过饰非，专会讲取巧奸佞和强辩指责的话，不肯秉正为天下说话，专门阿谀奉承主人的心意。主上心里不想要的，他就跟着去毁谤；主上心里想要干的，他就跟着赞誉。喜好兴起事端，舞弄法律条文，在朝中心怀欺诈来迎合主人的心意，在朝外则挟制酷吏恶人来维护威严。您位居九卿之列，如不早些进言皇上，您将会和他一道受到惩处了。”李息畏惧张汤，始终没敢进言。汲黯采用原来的方法治理淮阳，使淮阳政事清明。后来张汤果然事败，皇上听到汲黯对李息说的那番话，将李息判了罪。下令让汲黯享受诸侯国相的俸禄在淮阳为官。七年之后他去世了。

汲黯去世之后，皇上因为他的缘故，使他的弟弟汲仁做官做到了九卿，他的儿子汲偃官至诸侯国相。汲黯表姑母的儿子司马



"Do you despise the post at Huaiyang?" asked the emperor. "I shall recall you very soon, but at present the officers and people of Huaiyang are at odds. I thought, with your prestige, you could set things in order quite comfortably from your couch."

After Ji An withdrew he met the imperial herald Li Xi and told him, "I am being packed off to the provinces and shall not be able to join in discussions at court. The grand secretary Zhang Tang is clever enough to refute criticisms and cunning enough to gloss over his faults. He uses artful flattery and specious arguments not to profit the empire but simply to please his master. Whatever the emperor disapproves of, he condemns; whatever the emperor wants, he praises. He loves to stir up trouble and manipulate the law. He is ingratiating himself with the emperor and relying on harsh officials to increase his power. You are one of the nine chief ministers. Unless you speak out against him in good time, you will end up by sharing his punishment."

But Li Xi was too afraid of Zhang Tang to speak against him. Ji An went to his post and governed as before, so that Huaiyang was well administered. Later Zhang Tang did get into trouble and the emperor, hearing of Ji An's advice to Li xi, had Li xi punished too. Ji An remained in Huaiyang with the rank of a chief minister to a prince until his death seven years later.

After Ji An's death, in recognition of his services, Emperor Wu made his younger brother Ji Ren high minister and his son Ji Yan chief



### 【原文】

姑姊妹子司马安亦少与黯为太子洗马。安文深巧善宦，官四至九卿，以河南太守卒。昆弟以安故，同时至二千石者十人。濮阳段宏始事盖侯信，信任宏，宏亦再至九卿。然卫人仕者皆严惮汲黯，出其下。

郑当时者，字庄，陈人也。其先郑君尝为项籍将；籍死，已而属汉。高祖令诸故项籍臣名籍，郑君独不奉诏。诏尽拜名籍者为大夫，而逐郑君。郑君死孝文时。

郑庄以任侠自喜，脱张羽于厄，声闻梁楚之间。孝景时，为太子舍人。每五日洗沐，常置驿马长安诸郊，存诸故人，请谢宾客，

### 【今译】

安年少时曾和汲黯同做太子洗马。司马安深谙律令，工巧而善于做官，官位四次升迁做到了九卿，在河南太守任上去世。兄弟们因为司马安的缘故，有十人同时做了二千石级的官员。濮阳人段宏起初侍奉盖侯王信，王信保举段宏，段宏也因此两度做官做到了九卿。可是卫地做官的人全都敬畏汲黯，对他甘拜下风。

郑当时，字庄，是陈县人。他的祖先郑君曾经做过项籍的将军；项籍死后，他不久就归附了汉朝。高祖命令所有原来项籍的臣子直呼项籍之名，惟独郑君不遵诏令。诏令任命所有直呼项籍的人做了大夫，而把郑君给驱逐了。郑君死于孝文帝的时候。

郑庄以行侠仗义而颇为自得，曾将张羽从危难之中解救出来，声名传遍梁楚之间。孝景帝时，他担任太子舍人。每五天休假一次，经常在长安城郊各地设置驿马，问候朋友，迎送宾客，

minister of a principality. Ji An's cousin Sima An, who had served in his youth as one of the crown prince's outriders with Ji An, was intelligent and knew how to get on as an official. Four times he was made a high minister, and he died governor of Henan. At one time ten members of his family were officers of the two thousand piculs rank, thanks to Sima An's influence. Another native of Puyang, Duan Hong, worked under Wang Xin the marquis of Gai and became a high minister twice on his recommendation. But all the men of Wei who served as officials had a great respect for Ji An and looked up to him.

Zheng Dangshi, whose courtesy name was Zhuang, was a man of Chen. An ancestor of his was a general under Xiang Yu and after Xiang Yu's death came over to Han, but when Emperor Gaozu ordered Xiang Yu's former officers to register, this man alone refused to do so. Emperor Gaozu made all the others high officials but dismissed Zheng, who died during the reign of Emperor Wen.

Zheng Dangshi liked to perform deeds of gallantry, and after he rescued Zhang Yu when in distress his fame spread through Liang and Chu. During the reign of Emperor Jing he was steward to the crown prince. On his leave, which came on every fifth day, he had post horses ready in the suburbs of the capital to call on old friends and protégés,





### 【原文】

夜以继日，至其明旦，常恐不遍。庄好黄老之言，其慕长者如恐不见。年少官薄，然其游知交皆其祖父行，天下有名之士也。武帝立，庄稍迁为鲁中尉、济南太守、江都相，至九卿为右内史。以武安侯、魏其时议，贬秩为詹事，迁为大农令。

庄为太史，诫门下：“客至，无贵贱无留门者。”执宾主之礼，以其贵下人。庄廉，又不治其产业，仰奉赐以给诸公。然其馈遗人，不过算器食。每朝，候上之间，说未尝不言天下之长者。其推毂士及官属丞史，诚有味其言之也，常引以为贤于己。未尝名吏，与官属言，若恐伤之。闻人之善言，进之上，唯恐

### 【今译】

忙得夜以继日，直到天亮，他还常常担心没办周到。郑庄喜好黄老之学，他敬慕忠厚长者有如惟恐见不到似的。他年纪轻，官职低，然而和他交游的知己却都是他的祖父辈，天下有名望的人士。武帝即位，郑庄逐渐升迁做了鲁国中尉、济南太守和江都相，官至九卿担任了右内史。由于武安侯、魏其侯廷议那件事，郑庄被贬官做了詹事，后升迁做了大农令。

郑庄担任太史时，告诫他的门人说：“客人到了，无论贵贱，都不要让他们留在门口等候。”他信守宾主之间的礼节，以他高贵的身份而待人谦恭。郑庄很清廉，又不置办家产，依靠俸禄和赏赐的财物来供给诸位宾朋。可是他馈赠给人的，不过是一些竹器盛的食物而已。每逢朝见，等候皇上的空闲之时，言谈中从没有不是称道天下的忠厚长者的。他推荐士人和丞、史属官时，称道他们颇有美言，还时常把他们引为比自己贤能的人。他从没有直呼过属吏之名，在和属官们谈话时，总像是惟恐伤害了他们。他听到别人好的言论，向皇上报告，只怕有所拖后。殽山以东的



or invited them home and entertained them all through the night until dawn. His only worry was that he might miss someone out. He liked the teachings of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi, admired his seniors and never lost a chance of meeting one. Although he was young and held such a humble post, the friends he sought out were men of his grandfather's generation whose names were known throughout the land.

After Emperor Wu came to the throne, Zheng Dangshi was appointed army commander of the principality of Lu, then governor of Jinan, chief minister of Jiangdu and finally senior prefect of the capital, one of the nine chief ministers. At the time of the dispute between the marquises of Weiqi And Wuan, he was reduced in status and made the crown prince's steward, then he was transferred to become minister of revenue.

During Zheng Dangshi's term as city prefect he told his servants, "When visitors come, whether high or low, never keep them waiting at the gate." He treated all guests with deference in spite of his eminence. Incorruptible and indifferent to his own estate, he depended on his official salary to entertain his friends, and his gifts to others were never more than food served in bamboo vessels.

At court he took every opportunity of recommending worthy men to the emperor. He spoke with genuine enthusiasm of ordinary scholars and his subordinates, as if they were all better men than he. He never called officials by their familiar names and took great care in conversation not to hurt the feelings of his subordinates. When he heard of some good proposal, he made haste to report it to the emperor. As

### 【原文】

后。山东士诸公以此翕然称郑庄。

郑庄使视决河，自请治行五日。上曰：“吾闻‘郑庄行，千里不赍粮’，请治行者何也？”然郑庄在朝，常趋和承意，不敢甚引当否。及晚节，汉征匈奴，招四夷，天下费多，财用益匱。庄任人宾客为大农僦人，多逋负。司马安为淮阳太守，发其事，庄以此陷罪，赎为庶人。顷之，守长史。上以为老，以庄为汝南太守。数岁，以官卒。

郑庄、汲黯始列为九卿，廉，内行修洁。此两人中废，家贫，宾客益落。及居郡，卒后家无余赀财。庄兄弟子孙以庄故，至二千石六七人焉。

### 【今译】

士人诸公都因此一致称赞郑庄。

郑庄出外去视察黄河决堤的情况，他自己请求用五天时间整治行装。皇上说：“我听说‘郑庄出行，千里路程不用带粮’，请求整装又是为了什么呢？”然而郑庄在朝之时，常常是附和逢迎皇上的旨意，不敢明言是非。到了晚年，汉朝征伐匈奴，招抚四方夷狄，天下耗资很多，财力日益匮乏。郑庄保举的宾客中有人在大司农手下服役运输，亏欠了很多款项。司马安担任淮阳太守，揭发了这件事，郑庄因此获罪，赎罪后贬为平民。不久，他又做了丞相长史。皇上认为他老了，就让他去担任汝南太守。几年之后，他在任官期间去世了。

郑庄、汲黯起初位居九卿之列，为人清廉，居家品行严整洁净。这两个人中道罢官，家中贫寒，宾客们也都零落散去。等到做了郡守，死后家中没有剩下什么财产。郑庄的兄弟子孙因为郑庄的缘故，有六七人做官至二千石级。



a result, all the gentlemen of the east spoke well of him.

When he was sent to investigate a flood of the Yellow River, he asked for five days to get ready for the journey. The emperor said, "I heard that you could travel a thousand *li* without taking any grain.<sup>2</sup> What do you have to prepare for this journey?"

At court Zheng Dangshi generally spoke mildly and fell in with the emperor's wishes, rarely venturing to express decided opinions. By the time he was old, the costly campaigns against the Huns and other barbarian tribes were draining the resources of the empire. Certain transport officers in the ministry of revenue, who had been recommended by Zheng Dangshi or were his protégés, defaulted. Sima An, the governor of Huaiyang, reported this and Zheng Dangshi was implicated. On payment of a fine he was pardoned but struck off the list of officials. Later he was made a senior secretary in the prime minister's office, but in view of his age the emperor appointed him as governor of Runan instead. He died in that office several years later.

Zheng Dangshi and Ji An both ranked among the nine chief ministers, were incorruptible and scrupulously honest. Later both were degraded, their families became poor and their protégés gradually deserted them. Both died in the provinces leaving no property for their heirs. However, six or seven of Zheng Dangshi's brothers and descendants became officers of the two thousand piculs rank because of him.



### 【原文】

太史公曰：夫以汲、郑之贤，有势则宾客十倍，无势则否，况众人乎！下邽翟公有言，始翟公为廷尉，宾客阗门；及废，门外可设雀罗。翟公复为廷尉，宾客欲往，翟公乃大署其门曰：“一死一生，乃知交情。一贫一富，乃知交态。一贵一贱，交情乃见。”汲、郑亦云，悲夫！

### 【今译】

太史公说：凭着汲黯、郑庄的贤能，有了权势就会有十倍之数的宾客，没有了权势就全没有了，又何况平常众人呢！下邽人翟公有这样的话，当初翟公做廷尉之时，宾客盈门；等到他罢了官，则是门可罗雀。翟公再次做了廷尉后，宾客们想再前往，翟公就在他家门上大书道：“一死一生，才知道彼此交情。一贫一富，才知道结交的实情。一贵一贱，彼此的交情才会显现出来。”汲黯、郑庄二人也是如此，真是可悲啊！



The Grand Historian comments: If worthy men like Ji An and Zheng Dangshi had friends by the score when they were in power and none when they fell from power, how must it be with ordinary men! Lord Zhai of Xiagui said that when he was chief justice guests thronged his gate, when he was dismissed you could have trapped birds at his door, but when he became chief justice again, his old protégés hoped to come back. Then he wrote in large characters on his gate:

When a lifelong friend is dead,  
Friendship has fled;  
When a rich man becomes poor,  
Friendship is no more;  
When a noble is brought low,  
Friendship must go.

Ji An and Zheng Dangshi might have said the same, alas!

<sup>1</sup> Famous strong men in the Zhou Dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> He had friends everywhere glad to entertain him.



## 酷吏列传

### 【原文】

孔子曰：“导之以政，齐之以刑，民免而无耻。导之以德，齐之以礼，有耻且格。”老氏称：“上德不德，是以有德；下德不失德，是以无德。法令滋章，盗贼多有。”太史公曰：信哉是言也！法令者治之具，而非制治清浊之源也。昔天下之网尝密矣，然奸伪萌起。其极也，上下相遁，至于不振。当是之时，吏治若救火扬沸，非武健严酷，恶能胜其任而愉快乎？言道德者，溺其职矣。故曰“听讼，吾犹人也，必也使无讼乎”。“下士闻道大笑之”。非虚言也。汉兴，破觚而为圆，斫雕而为朴，网漏于

### 【今译】

孔子说：“用政令来引导人民，用刑法来约束人民，人民会免于犯罪却没有羞耻之心。用道德来引导人民，用礼制来约束人民，人民会有羞耻之心并且走上正道。”老子说：“德行高尚的不表现出德，因此有德；德行低下的总想不失去德，因此没有德。法令多而严，盗贼就越多。”太史公说：这些话讲得真对呀！法令是政治的工具，却不是导致政治清明或污浊的根源。从前天下的法网曾经很严密，可是奸邪狡诈不断发生。它发展到极点时，上下互相欺骗，以至于国家衰败。在这时候，官吏的管理就像负薪救火扬汤止沸一样，不是强健严酷的人，怎么能胜任他的职守而愉快呢？宣扬道德的人，丧失了其职责。所以说“审判案件，我和别人差不多，一定要不发生案件才好”。“愚蠢浅陋的人听到谈论道德会大笑”。这些不是空话。汉朝兴起，把方正有棱的改为圆



## The Harsh Officials

Confucius said, "If you govern the people by laws and control them with punishments, they will try to keep out of trouble but will have no sense of shame. If you govern them with virtue and control them with ceremony, they will have a sense of shame and correct themselves."

Lao Zi said, "The man of superior virtue does not lay stress on virtue and so he has virtue. The man of inferior virtue clings to virtue and so he has no virtue." Again, "The more laws are promulgated, the more brigands and thieves there will be."

The Grand Historian comments: How true this is! Laws and codes are instruments of government, but not the cause of good government.

In former times the empire was hemmed in by legal restrictions, yet evil and deception grew so rife that those above and those below concealed the truth from each other, until the situation became hopeless. Then the officials' attempt to maintain order was like trying to put out a fire or prevent boiling water from bubbling over. Only the most ruthless and harshest could carry out this task satisfactorily. To have spoken of virtue would have been shirking their duty. That is why Confucius said, "I am no better than others in dealing with lawsuits. The thing is to do away with them." And Lao Zi said, "When men of low understanding hear about the Way, they laugh out loud at it." These are true words.

At the start of the Han Dynasty, smoothness was preferred to



## 【原文】

吞舟之鱼，而吏治烝烝，不至于奸，黎民艾安。由是观之，在彼不在此。

高后时，酷吏独有侯封，刻轹宗室，侵辱功臣。吕氏已败，遂夷侯封之家。孝景时，晁错以刻深颇用术辅其资，而七国之乱，发怒于错，错卒以被戮。其后有郅都、宁成之属。

郅都者，杨人也。以郎事孝文帝。孝景时，都为中郎将，敢直谏，面折大臣于朝。尝从入上林，贾姬如厕，野彘卒入厕。上目都，都不行。上欲自持兵救贾姬，都伏上前曰：“亡一姬复一姬

## 【今译】

形的，把器物上雕刻的花纹削去而回归质朴，法律宽松得像可以漏掉能吞下船的大鱼那样，可官吏的治绩淳厚实在，不至于有奸诈行为，百姓太平无事。从这点来看，治理国家在于宽仁而不是在于酷刑。

高后时，酷吏只有侯封，苛刻欺凌皇族，侵犯侮辱功臣。吕氏败亡后，朝廷就诛灭了侯封的家族。孝景帝时，晁错性情刻薄严峻又多用权术来加强自己的才能，而七国的叛乱，就从对晁错的怨恨开始，晁错终于因此被杀。那以后还有郅都、宁成之类。

郅都，是杨县人。他以郎的身份事奉孝文帝。孝景帝时，郅都任中郎将，敢于直言劝谏，在朝廷上当面斥责大臣。曾经跟随皇上到上林苑，贾姬上厕所，有野猪突然跑入厕所。皇上用眼色示意郅都，郅都不肯去救。皇上想自己拿兵器去救贾姬，郅都跪在皇上面前说：“失掉一个美女还会有一个美女进献，天下少的难



sharp angles, simplicity to ornamentation. A whale could have slipped through the net of the law! Yet the law officers were honest and uncorrupted, while the people lived in peace. We can see that this did not come about through harshness.

In the time of Empress Lü, the only harsh official was Hou Feng, who harried members of the imperial clan and humiliated worthy ministers. But after the Lü clan was overthrown, Hou Feng's family was destroyed.

In the reign of Emperor Jing, Chao Cuo was an exacting official who achieved his end partly by cunning. And the seven princes revolted because of their resentment against Chao Cuo, who was finally executed for causing this trouble. After him there were men like Zhi Du and Ning Cheng.

Zhi Du was a native of Yang. He served under Emperor Wen as a palace guard and Emperor Jing made him captain of the palace guard. He had no scruples about speaking bluntly and would contradict high officials to their faces at court.

Once while he was accompanying the emperor to Shanglin Park, Lady Jia went to the privy and a wild boar charged after her. The emperor looked at Zhi Du, who did not move. Then the emperor took a weapon to go to her rescue, but Zhi Du prostrated himself and cried, "If one lady in waiting dies, another can be found. The empire



## 【原文】

进，天下所少宁贾姬等乎？陛下纵自轻，奈宗庙太后何？”上还，彘亦去。太后闻之，赐都金百斤，由此重郅都。

济南瞷氏宗人三百余家，豪猾，二千石莫能制，于是景帝乃拜都为济南太守。至则族灭瞷氏首恶，余皆股栗。居岁余，郡中不拾遗。旁十余郡守畏都如大府。

都为人勇，有气力，公廉，不发私书，问遗无所受，请寄无所听。常自称曰：“已倍亲而仕，身固当奉职死节官下，终不顾妻子矣。”

郅都迁为中尉。丞相条侯至贵倨也，而都揖丞相。是时民朴，畏罪自重，而都独先严酷，致行法不避贵戚，列侯宗室见都侧目而

## 【今译】

道是贾姬这样的人吗？陛下即使看轻自己，对宗庙和太后怎么办？”皇上转身回来，野猪也离去了。太后听说这事，赏赐给郅都一百斤金，从此看重郅都。

济南瞷氏的族人有三百多家，骄横奸猾，没有一任太守能制服他们，于是景帝就任命郅都为济南太守。郅都一到任就把瞷氏为首作恶的人全家灭族，其余的人都吓得腿发抖。过了一年多，济南郡中路不拾遗。附近十多个郡的太守像害怕上司一样害怕郅都。

郅都为人勇敢，有力气，公正廉洁，不拆看因私事而来的信件，从不接受礼物，从不听人请托。常常自己说：“已经背离父母来当官，自身本来就应该恪尽职守为节操而死在任上，终究顾不得妻子儿女了。”

郅都升任中尉。丞相条侯最尊贵而傲慢，而郅都见了他只作揖就算了。这时民风朴实，害怕犯罪而守法自重，可郅都却独自首先施行严酷的刑法，以致执法时不避帝王的内外亲戚，列侯和



has no lack of Lady Jias! Your Majesty may think lightly of your own safety, but what of the temples of your ancestors? What of the empress dowager?"

Then the emperor turned back and the wild boar made off. When this came to the ears of the empress dowager, she gave Zhi Du a hundred catties of gold, and from that time on he was very highly regarded.

Now the clan of Jian in Jinan consisted of more than three hundred families and was so powerful and lawless that not even officials of the two thousand piculs rank could control it. So Emperor Jing appointed Zhi Du as governor of Jinan. Upon his arrival there, he wiped out the ringleaders of the clan together with their relatives, making the rest tremble with fear. In his year and more of office, no one in the province dared to pick up anything that had been dropped in the road, and the dozen or so governors of neighbouring provinces feared him as if he were a chief minister.

Zhi Du was a courageous and powerful man, so scrupulously honest in the conduct of public affairs that he carried on no private correspondence, accepted no gifts and listened to no special requests. He used to say, "Since I left my family and took office, I must do my duty and be ready to die at my post, with no thought of wife and children."

When Zhi Du was transferred to be the metropolitan tribune, the prime minister, the marquis of Tiao, was most powerful and arrogant, yet Zhi Du greeted him as an equal.

In those days the common people were simple and honest. Afraid to do anything wrong, they kept out of harm's way. It was Zhi Du who laid stress on severity and applied the full rigour of the law even to relations of the emperor. The feudal lords and members of the imperial clan dared not look him in the face but nicknamed him the Grey Falcon.



## 【原文】

视，号曰“苍鹰”。

临江王征诣中尉府对簿，临江王欲得刀笔为书谢上，而都禁吏不予。魏其侯使人以间与临江王。临江王既为书谢上，因自杀。窦太后闻之，怒，以危法中都，都免归家。孝景帝乃使使持节拜都为雁门太守，而便道之官，得以便宜从事。匈奴素闻郅都节，居边，为引兵去，竟郅都死不近雁门。匈奴至为偶人象郅都，令骑驰射莫能中，见惮如此。匈奴患之。窦太后乃竟中都以汉法。景帝曰：“都忠臣。”欲释之。窦太后曰：“临江王独非忠臣邪？”于是遂斩郅都。

宁成者，穰人也。以郎谒者事景帝。好气，为人小吏，必陵其

## 【今译】

皇族看到郅都都侧目而视，称他为“苍鹰”。

临江王被召到中尉府来审问，他想要笔墨写信向皇上谢罪，可郅都下令官吏不给他。魏其侯派人暗中把笔墨给了临江王。临江王写信向皇上谢罪后，就自杀了。窦太后听说这件事，发怒，以严峻法令指责郅都，郅都被免官回家。孝景帝就派使者拿符节任命郅都为雁门太守，让他就近取道赴任，能够随机处理事务。匈奴人平时听说过郅都的节操，得知郅都在边境任官，就为此带军队离去，一直到郅都去世都不逼近雁门。匈奴甚至做了一个像郅都的木偶人，让骑兵们奔跑射击，没有人能射中，被匈奴害怕到这种地步。匈奴把郅都当作忧患。窦太后却最终用汉朝法律陷害郅都。景帝说：“郅都是忠臣。”想释放他。窦太后说：“临江王难道不是忠臣吗？”于是就斩杀了郅都。

宁成，是穰县人。以郎官、谒者身份事奉景帝。好意气用



When the prince of Linjiang was summoned for trial in Zhi Du's office, he asked for a knife and stylus to write a letter to the emperor, but Zhi Du would not let the officers grant his request. The marquis of Weiqi sent them to him in secret, however, and after writing the letter the prince took his own life. Empress Dowager Dou was so angry when she learned of this that she found some legal pretext to indict Zhi Du, who was dismissed from office and went home. Emperor Jing sent an envoy with credentials to appoint him as governor of Yanmen, ordering him to proceed straight from home to his new post and act there as he thought fit.

Since the Huns had long heard that Zhi Du was incorruptible, while he was at the frontier they withdrew their troops, never invading Yanmen so long as he lived. They even carved an effigy of him and made their mounted archers use it as a target, but such was the awe in which they held him that none of them could hit it. He was, indeed, a thorn in the side of the Huns.

When Empress Dowager Dou brought another charge against him, the emperor said, "Zhi Du is a loyal subject." He would have released him, but the empress dowager retorted, "And the king of Linjiang, was he not a loyal subject?" So in the end Zhi Du was executed.

Ning Cheng of Rang served Emperor Jing first as a palace guard and then as a herald. He was an irascible man. As a subordinate he was



## 【原文】

长吏；为人上，操下如束湿薪。滑贼任威。稍迁至济南都尉，而郅都为守。始前数都尉皆步入府，因吏谒守如县令，其畏郅都如此。及成往，直陵都出其上。都素闻其声，于是善遇，与结欢。久之，郅都死，后长安左右宗室多暴犯法，于是上召宁成为中尉。其治效郅都，其廉弗如，然宗室豪桀皆人人惴恐。

武帝即位，徙为内史。外戚多毁成之短，抵罪髡钳。是时九卿罪死即死，少被刑，而成极刑，自以为不复收，于是解脱，诈刻传出归家。称曰：“仕不至二千石，贾不至千万，安可比人乎！”乃贳贷买陂田千余顷，假贫民，役使数千家。数年，会赦。致产数

## 【今译】

事，做别人的小官，一定要欺凌他的长官；做人家的上级，控制下属就像捆绑湿柴一样严。狡猾凶残任性使威。渐渐升到济南都尉，而郅都是济南太守。在这以前几个都尉都是步行进入太守府，像县令一样通过府吏的传达来参见太守，他们害怕郅都到这种地步。到宁成去见太守，径直越过郅都走到他的上位。郅都平时听说过他的名声，于是友好地对待他，和他结成好友。过了很久，郅都去世，后来长安附近皇族有很多人暴虐犯法，于是皇上召来宁成任中尉。他的治理方法仿效郅都，但廉洁方面不如郅都，可皇族豪强人都很害怕。

武帝即位后，宁成调任内史。外戚们大都诋毁宁成的短处，他被判罪接受剃发和用铁箍套脖子的惩罚。这时九卿犯罪该死就杀掉，很少受刑罚，而宁成却遭受最重的刑罚，他自认为朝廷不会再录用他，于是就解开刑具，伪刻符信出了函谷关回到家。他说：“当官当不到二千石，做买卖挣不到一千万，怎么可以和别人比呢！”于是借钱买了一千多顷方便灌溉的田地，租给贫民，奴役使用几千户人家。几年后，碰到大赦。他得到财产几千金，为人



rude to his superiors, while he tied down those under him as tightly as a bundle of wet twigs. Through cunning and ruthlessness he was gradually promoted to the post of the military tribune of Jinan, when Zhi Du happened to be the governor there.

Former tribunes, such was their fear of Zhi Du, had gone on foot to his office to pay their respects as if they were mere magistrates. Ning Cheng, however, behaved even more arrogantly than Zhi Du. And since the latter knew his reputation, he treated him well and they became good friends.

Some years later, after Zhi Du's execution, so many of the emperor's attendants and members of the imperial clan in Chang'an started resorting to violence and breaking the law that the emperor summoned Ning Cheng to be metropolitan tribune. His administration was like that of Zhi Du, except that he was not so incorruptible. However, members of the imperial clan and prominent citizens all feared him to a man.

When Emperor Wu came to the throne, Ning Cheng was transferred to the prefectship of the capital. Then the relatives of the empress brought a false charge against him. His head was shaved and a chain put round his neck. In those days it was usual for high ministers guilty of capital offences to commit suicide rather than submit to punishment. But Ning Cheng put up with this disgrace and, confident that he would not be arrested again, got rid of his chains, forged a permit to get through the Pass, and returned home.

"An official who cannot reach the two thousand piculs rank or a merchant who cannot make ten million cash is no true man," he said. So he borrowed money to purchase a hundred thousand mu and more of hilly land, and got several thousand poor families to work for him. By the time an amnesty was declared a few years later, he was worth

## 【原文】

千金，为任侠，持吏长短，出从数十骑。其使民威重于郡守。

周阳由者，其父赵兼以淮南王舅父侯周阳，故因姓周阳氏。由以宗家任为郎，事孝文及景帝。景帝时，由为郡守。武帝即位，吏治尚循谨甚，然由居二千石中，最为暴酷骄恣。所爱者，挠法活之；所憎者，曲法诛灭之。所居郡，必夷其豪。为守，视都尉如令。为都尉，必陵太守，夺之治。与汲黯俱为忮，司马安之文恶，俱在二千石列，同车未尝敢均茵伏。

由后为河东都尉，时与其守胜屠公争权，相告言罪。胜屠公当

## 【今译】

行侠仗义，掌握官吏们的阴私，出行时有几十人骑马跟随。他驱使百姓的权威比郡太守还大。

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周阳由，他的父亲赵兼以淮南王舅父的身份被封周阳侯，因此就改姓了周阳。周阳由以外戚的身份当了郎官，事奉孝文帝和孝景帝。景帝时，周阳由担任郡太守。武帝即位，官吏处理政事还推崇温循谨慎，可是周阳由在二千石的官员中，最为暴虐残酷骄横放纵。他喜欢的人，就枉法让他活下来；他厌恶的人，就歪曲法律诛杀他。他当官的郡，一定铲除那儿的豪强。他担任太守，把都尉视同县令。他担任都尉，就一定欺凌太守，侵夺太守的权力。他和汲黯都强狠固执。司马安善于以法害人，同在二千石官员认列，他和周阳由同车时从来不敢和他平起平坐。

周阳由后来担任河东都尉，当时与河东太守胜屠公争夺权力，互相告发对方罪状。胜屠公被判处抵罪，他坚持道义不肯受



several thousand pieces of gold. He took the law into his own hands, bending the local officials to his will. He had a retinue of several dozen horsemen and could order the people about with more authority than the provincial governor.

Zhouyang You's father, originally called Zhao Jian, took the surname Zhouyang because as an uncle of the prince of Huainan he was made the marquis of Zhouyang. And owing to this connection he served in the palace guard in the reigns of Emperor Wen and Emperor Jing. Under Emperor Jing he became a provincial governor.

When Emperor Wu came to the throne, the local officials exercised their jurisdiction with great moderation. Zhouyang You alone of the officers of the two thousand piculs rank went to extremes in his savage repression and arrogance. If he liked a man he would stretch the law to save his life; if he hated a man he would twist the law to kill him. Whatever province he administered, he invariably killed off its chief citizens. Serving as governor, he treated the military tribune as a county magistrate; serving as a military tribune himself, he insulted the governor and usurped his authority. He was as harsh as Ji An, and as skilful as Sima An in manipulating the law to ruin men; but although both of them belonged to the two thousand piculs rank they never presumed to act as Zhouyang You's equal when riding in the same carriage.

When later Zhouyang You became military tribune of Hedong, he fought for power with the local governor Lord Shentu, and each impeached the other. Lord Shentu was found guilty but committed sui-

### 【原文】

抵罪，义不受刑，自杀，而由弃市。

自宁成、周阳由之后，事益多，民巧法，大抵吏之治类多成、由等矣。

赵禹者，隣人。以佐史补中都官，用廉为令史，事太尉亚夫。亚夫为丞相，禹为丞相史，府中皆称其廉平。然亚夫弗任，曰：“极知禹无害，然文深，不可以居大府。”今上时，禹以刀笔吏积劳，稍迁为御史。上以为能，至太中大夫。与张汤论定诸律令，作见知，吏传得相监司。用法益刻，盖自此始。

张汤者，杜人也。其父为长安丞，出，汤为儿守舍。还而鼠盗

### 【今译】

刑，自杀而死，而周阳由被处死示众。

从宁成、周阳由以后，狱事更加增多，百姓用奸诈手段对付法令，大抵官吏治理政事多像宁成、周阳由一样了。

赵禹，是隣县人。他以佐史的身份补任京城官府的官员，由于廉洁而担任令史，事奉太尉周亚夫。周亚夫任丞相，赵禹任丞相史，丞相府里的人都称赞赵禹的廉洁公平。可是周亚夫不重用他，说：“我很清楚赵禹无人能比，但他执法森严苛刻，不可以在高层官府当官。”当今皇上时期，赵禹因为任主办文案的官而积累功劳，逐渐升任御史。皇上认为他有才能，提升他到太中大夫。他和张汤斟酌编定各种法令，制订知情不告的惩办条例，官吏们得以互相监视检举。法律越发严酷，大概从这时开始。

张汤，是杜县人。他的父亲任长安县丞，有一次出门，张汤还是小孩在家里看守。回来后老鼠偷了肉，他父亲很生气，鞭打



cide rather than suffer the punishment. Zhouyang You was executed in the market-place.

After the time of Ning Cheng and Zhouyang You there was an increase in litigation, the law became more involved, and most officials were men of their type.

Zhao Yu was a native of Tai. He served first as a district clerk, then as an officer in the capital, where for his scrupulous conduct he was appointed as a secretary under Grand Marshal Zhou Yafu. When Zhou Yafu became prime minister Zhao Yu was his secretary, known to all his colleagues for his integrity and justice. But Zhou Yafu did not trust him. "I know very well that Yu is competent," he said. "But he is too harsh to hold a high position."

During the present reign, he so distinguished himself as a secretary that step by step he was promoted to the post of censor. The emperor, struck by his ability, made him grand counsellor. With Zhang Tang he revised the legal codes, drawing up laws dealing with failure to report a crime and the system of mutual surveillance. Since then the laws have been more strictly enforced.

Zhang Tang of Du was the son of the assistant magistrate of Chang'an. One day when he was a child his father left him to mind the house, only to find on his return that a rat had stolen a piece of meat. In



### 【原文】

肉，其父怒，笞汤。汤掘窟得盗鼠及余肉，劾鼠掠治，传爰书，讯鞫论报，并取鼠与肉，具狱磔堂下。其父见之，视其文辞如老狱吏，大惊，遂使书狱。父死后，汤为长安吏，久之。

周阳侯始为诸卿时，尝系长安，汤倾身为之。及出为侯，大与汤交，遍见汤贵人。汤给事内史，为宁成掾，以汤为无害，言大府，调为茂陵尉，治方中。

武安侯为丞相，征汤为史，时荐言之天子，补御史，使案事。治陈皇后蛊狱，深竟党与。于是上以为能，稍迁至太中大夫。与赵禹共定诸律令，务在深文，拘守职之吏。已而赵禹迁为中尉，徙为

### 【今译】

张汤。张汤挖洞捉到偷肉的老鼠和剩下的肉，就起诉老鼠的罪状拷打审问，记录供词反复审问，追究罪行上报判决，并且把老鼠和剩肉拿来，最后判案把老鼠在堂下分尸处死。他父亲看到这事，看到他那判决文书像老练的法官所写，十分吃惊，就让他学习刑狱律文。父亲死后，张汤任长安的官吏，做了很长时间。

周阳侯开始做一般卿官的时候，曾经被关押在长安，张汤尽力解救他。到周阳侯出狱封为侯后，和张汤交往很密切，把张汤广泛地引见给权贵人物。张汤在内史任职，担任宁成的属官，由于张汤的才能无人能比，将他推荐给上司，张汤调任茂陵尉，负责土建工程。

武安侯担任丞相，召张汤做内史，时常向天子推荐他，补任御史，让他查验办理狱事。他处理陈皇后巫蛊案，深入查尽同党。于是皇上认为他能干，逐渐提升到太中大夫。和赵禹一同制定各种法令，一味地严格法律条文，束缚管制恪尽职守的官员。不久赵禹升任中尉，又改任少府，而张汤任廷尉，两个人友好交



anger he beat his son. Then Zhang Tang dug out the rat hole, found the guilty rat and what remained of the meat, tried the rat, recorded its confession and decided on its punishment. He then took the rat and meat into the yard, where he passed sentence and executed the culprit. His father, observing this, was amazed to find that the records read like those drawn up by an experienced scrivener. So he set the lad to writing legal documents. After his father's death, Zhang Tang served for many years as an officer in the capital.

While the marquis of Zhouyang was still only a minister he was involved in trouble in Chang'an, and Zhang Tang did his utmost to help him. When he was released and ennobled he proved a good friend to Zhang Tang, introducing him to all the important people. Zhang Tang worked in the city prefect's office under Ning Cheng, who recommended him to the court for his outstanding ability, with the result that he was transferred to be military tribune of Maoling in charge of the construction of the imperial mausoleum.

When the marquis of Wuan became prime minister, he chose Zhang Tang as his secretary and recommended him several times to the emperor, who appointed him a censor. He investigated the charge of witchcraft brought against Empress Chen and made a thorough round up of all her clique. Then the emperor, impressed by his ability, promoted him by degrees to the rank of grand counsellor. He and Zhao Yu together revised the legal code, drawing up strict regulations to control all government officials. Later Zhao Yu was promoted to be metropolitan tribune, then transferred to the post of privy treasurer



### 【原文】

少府，而张汤为廷尉，两人交欢，而兄事禹。禹为人廉倨，为吏以来，舍毋食客。公卿相造请禹，禹终不报谢，务在绝知友宾客之请，孤立行一意而已。见文法辄取，亦不覆案，求官属阴罪。汤为人多诈，舞智以御人。始为小吏，乾没，与长安富贾田甲、鱼翁叔之属交私。及列九卿，收接天下名士大夫，己心内虽不合，然阳浮慕之。

是时上方乡文学，汤决大狱，欲传古义，乃请博士弟子治《尚书》、《春秋》补廷尉史，亭疑法。奏谳疑事，必豫先为上分别其原，上所是，受而著谳决法廷尉洁令，扬主之明。奏事即谴，汤应

### 【今译】

往，而张汤以对待兄长的礼节对待赵禹。赵禹为人廉正傲慢，当官以来，家中没有食客。公卿登门拜访他，赵禹始终不回访答谢，刻意追求断绝好友和宾客的请托，独立按自己的意志行事。看到法令条文就照办，也不重审，追查从属官员的隐秘罪行。张汤为人很奸诈，耍弄聪明来控制别人。开始任小官，就侵吞别人的财物，和长安的富商田甲、鱼翁叔之流私下交往。到他位列九卿时，结交天下名士大夫，自己内心虽然同他们不和，但表面上却伪装仰慕他们。

这时皇上正向往经典学问，张汤处理大案件，想附会儒家经书的说法，就请求让博士弟子研究《尚书》、《春秋》的担任廷尉史，评议有疑问的法律条文。向皇帝奏呈可疑的事，一定预先给皇上分析好事情的原委，皇上认为对的，就接受并记录下来作为判案的法规以廷尉的名义加以公布，来颂扬皇上的圣明。上报的事情假如受到皇上的谴责，张汤就认错谢罪，顺着皇上的心意，



while Zhang Tang became chief justice. The two men were good friends, Zhang Tang treating Zhao Yu like an elder brother.

Zhao Yu was both close-listed and overbearing. During the whole of his official career he did no entertaining. When other ministers called on him, he never returned their calls. He made every effort to forestall requests from friends and visitors and took an independent stand, doing whatever he pleased. He based all his decisions on the legal code, would never reopen a case, and was on the look-out for secret mal-practices among his subordinates.

Zhang Tang was a hypocrite who resorted to cunning to get the better of others. Starting out as a minor official, he engaged in speculation and made friends with Tian Jia, Yu Wengshu and other rich merchants in the capital. When he became one of the nine chief ministers he befriended the most noted scholars and gentlemen of the empire, making a show of admiring even those he disliked.

At that time the emperor took a great interest in literature. So when Zhang Tang was dealing with important cases he tried to find support for his views in the classics. He asked students of the court scholars who were familiar with the *Book of Documents* and *Spring and Autumn Annals* to serve as secretaries in the office of the chief justice and help settle dubious points of law. Before presenting a decision on controversial cases, he would analyse them for the emperor, then bring in a verdict according to the emperor's instructions and pay open tribute to his sagacity.

If he was criticized for some report, he would apologize and fall in with the emperor's wishes. Then he made a point of mentioning one



### 【原文】

谢，乡上意所便，必引正、监、掾史贤者，曰：“固为臣议，如上责臣，臣弗用，愚抵于此。”罪常释。间即奏事，上善之，曰：“臣非知为此奏，乃正、监、掾史某为之。”其欲荐吏，扬人之善，蔽人之过如此。所治即上意所欲罪，予监史深祸者；即上意所欲释，与监史轻平者。所治即豪，必舞文巧诋；即下户羸弱，时口言，虽文致法，上财察。于是往往释汤所言。汤至于大吏，内行修也。通宾客饮食，于故人子弟为吏及贫昆弟，调护之尤厚。其造请诸公，不避寒暑。是以汤虽文深意忌不专平，然得此声誉。而刻深吏多为爪牙用者，依于文学之士。丞相弘数称其美。及治淮南、衡

### 【今译】

一定列举出正、监和掾史中有贤能的，说：“他们本来向我建议过，就像皇上谴责我的一样，我没有采纳，愚昧到这种地步。”他的过错常被皇上释免。有时向皇上呈上奏章，皇上认为很对，他就说：“我不知道应这样奏议，是正、监、掾史某某人所写的。”他想推荐官吏，宣扬别人的好处，掩饰别人的过错，到了这种地步。他所审理的案子假如是皇上想严办的，就让执法严酷的监史处理；如果是皇上想要释免的，就交给执法轻而平和的监史处理。所处理的假如是豪强，就一定玩弄法令条文巧妙地进行攻击；如果是平民百姓和弱小的人，就常常口头向皇上陈述，即使按法律条文要判刑，但也请皇上明察裁定。于是皇上往往释免了张汤所说的人。张汤做到大官，是由于他自身修养好。与宾客饮酒吃饭不分彼此，对老朋友子弟当官的和贫穷的兄弟们，照顾得特别宽厚。他去拜问各位公卿，不避寒暑。所以张汤虽然执法严酷内心嫉妒办事不完全公平，但得到了这样的好名声。而那些执法酷烈的官吏被他用作属下的，依附于精通经典学问的人士。



of his more capable subordinates, saying, "So-and-so's advice coincided with Your Majesty's instructions; but I failed to take it and made this stupid mistake." As a result, the fault was always condoned.

If the emperor approved of some report, Zhang Tang would say, "This was not originally my idea, but proposed by so-and-so in my office." This was how he recommended his officials, bringing forward their good points and hiding their faults.

When it came to trials, those whom the emperor wished to condemn Zhang Tang handed over to his most implacable secretaries, while those whom the emperor wanted to have pardoned he assigned to more lenient men. When trying someone wealthy and influential, he would manipulate the law to prove his guilt. But he always took the side of the weak and poor, and even if the man was guilty according to the law Zhang Tang would often speak well of him in front of the emperor. Thus when the case came to the attention of the emperor he would remember what Zhang Tang had said and pardon the man.

Zhang Tang's behaviour was exemplary after he became a high official. He supplied all his protégés with food and drink, showing special regard for those officers who were the sons and younger brothers of old friends, as well as for poor relations. He called on other officials regardless of the cold or heat. So in spite of his harshness in applying the law, in spite of his cunning, prejudices and bias, he won fame. Many ruthless officials came to work for him, as well as men of letters, and on several occasions the prime minister Gongsun Hong commended his virtue.

When investigating the rebellion of the princes of Huainan,



### 【原文】

山、江都反狱，皆穷根本。严助及伍被，上欲释之。汤争曰：“伍被本画反谋，而助亲幸出入禁闼爪牙臣，乃交私诸侯如此，弗诛，后不可治。”于是上可论之。其治狱所排大臣自为功，多此类。于是汤益尊任，迁为御史大夫。

会浑邪等降，汉大兴兵伐匈奴，山东水旱，贫民流徙，皆仰给县官，县官空虚。于是丞上指，请造白金及五铢钱，笼天下盐铁，排富商大贾，出告缗令，锄豪强并兼之家，舞文巧诋以辅法。汤每朝奏事，语国家用，日晏，天子忘食。丞相取充位，天下事皆决于汤。百姓不安其生，骚动，县官所兴，未获其利，奸

### 【今译】

丞相公孙弘屡次称赞张汤的美德。等到他处理淮南王、衡山王、江都王谋反的案件，都穷追到底。严助和伍被，皇上想要释放他们。张汤争辩说：“伍被本来是策划谋反的人，而严助是皇上亲宠的出入宫廷禁门的护卫之臣，竟然暗中勾结诸侯到这种地步，不诛杀，以后就不好管理了。”于是皇上同意了张汤的判决。他处理案件排挤大臣自己邀功的事，大多如此。于是，张汤更受尊崇和信任，升任御史大夫。

碰上匈奴浑邪王等来投降，汉朝出动大军攻打匈奴，山东发生水旱灾害，贫苦百姓流离失所，都依靠官府救济供给，官府仓库空虚。于是张汤奉承皇上旨意，请求铸造白金和五铢钱，垄断天下的盐铁经营权，打击富商大贾，颁布布告征税令，铲除兼并豪强之家，玩弄法律条文巧妙诋毁他们来辅助法律的推行。张汤每次上朝奏事，谈论国家的财用，讲到太阳偏西，天子忘了吃饭。丞相只是空占职位，天下的事情都由张汤来决定。人民不能安居乐业，发生骚乱，官府兴办的事情，没得到利益，而奸官污



Hengshan and Jiangdu, Zhang Tang went to the root of the matter and opposed the emperor's wish to pardon Yan Zhu and Wu Bei. "It was Wu Bei who drew up the plan for revolt," he said. "As for Yan Zhu, he enjoyed your favour and was a trusted official with access to the inner palace, yet he had private dealings with the princes. If men like these are not executed, things will get out of hand." Then the emperor accepted his recommendation. This is only one example of the way in which Zhang Tang utilized prosecutions to sweep aside other high officials and win credit himself. So he was appointed to more important posts and finally promoted to be grand secretary.

When the Hunye and other Hunnish tribes surrendered, the Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) government sent out great armies against the Huns. There were flood and drought in the eastern provinces and the destitute were roaming the country, depending upon relief from the local authorities, whose resources were soon exhausted. Then Zhang Tang, at the wish of the emperor, proposed minting *wuzhu* and silver coins, setting up a state monopoly of salt and iron, and restricting the great merchants. He drew up a law promising a reward for information about tax-evasion, attacked the powerful families which were annexing land, and twisted the law to make its enforcement even stricter.

When Zhang Tang went to court to report on affairs of state, the emperor would forget to eat till sunset. The prime minister was no more than a figurehead, for all affairs in the empire were decided by Zhang Tang. Then the people, dissatisfied with their life, grew restive, and the government derived no profit from the new measures, for



## 【原文】

吏并侵渔，于是痛绳以罪。则自公卿以下，至于庶人，咸指汤。汤尝病，天子至自视病，其隆贵如此。

匈奴来请和亲，群臣议上前。博士狄山曰：“和亲便。”上问其便，山曰：“兵者凶器，未易数动。高帝欲伐匈奴，大困平城，乃遂结和亲。孝惠、高后时，天下安乐。及孝文帝欲事匈奴，北边萧然苦兵矣。孝景时，吴、楚七国反，景帝往来两宫间，寒心者数月。吴、楚已破，竟景帝不言兵，天下富实。今自陛下举兵击匈奴，中国以空虚，边民大困贫。由此观之，不如和亲。”上问汤，汤曰：“此愚儒，无知。”狄山曰：“臣固愚忠，若御史大夫汤乃诈忠。若汤之治淮南、江都，以深文痛诋诸侯，别疏骨肉，使蕃臣不

## 【今译】

吏一齐侵夺盗窃，于是就严厉地以法惩办。从公卿以下，一直到平民，都指责张汤。张汤曾经生病，天子甚至亲自去看望探病，他的尊贵到这个地步。

匈奴来请求和亲，大臣们在皇上面前讨论。博士狄山说：“和亲有利。”皇上问他所说的有利是什么，狄山说：“战争是凶器，不能轻易多次动用。高帝要攻打匈奴，被围困在平城极度危险，于是就缔结和亲。孝惠帝、高后时期，天下安定和乐。到孝文帝想要对付匈奴，北方边境骚扰不宁苦于战争了。孝景帝时，吴、楚等七国反叛，景帝在两宫之间往来商讨，忧心忡忡有几个月。吴、楚已被打败，景帝终生不谈论战争，天下富裕充实。如今从陛下派兵攻打匈奴以来，国内已经空虚，边境百姓十分贫困。由此看来，不如和亲。”皇上问张汤，张汤说：“这是愚蠢的儒生，无知。”狄山说：“我的确是愚忠，像御史大夫张汤却是伪忠。像张汤处理淮南王、江都王的案件，用严酷的法律来放肆地诋毁诸侯，离间疏远皇上的骨肉至亲，因而使各封国藩王不能自安。我



corrupt officials appropriated the gains. So such offences were more severely punished. Zhang Tang was hated by everyone from the high officials down to the common people. Yet when he fell ill the emperor went in person to see him, so greatly did he favour and respect him.

Now the Huns made overtures for peace and the ministers discussed their request in the emperor's presence. A court scholar named Di Shan said, "To make peace is best."

Asked by the emperor for his reasons, he said, "Arms are weapons of destruction which should not be resorted to lightly or too often. When Emperor Gaozu wanted to attack the Huns he got into serious difficulties at Pingcheng, after which he made peace with them. In the time of Emperor Hui and the empress dowager the empire enjoyed peace. Then Emperor Wen decided to deal with the Huns, and the northern borders were laid waste by war. During the reign of Emperor Jing, when the princes of Wu, Chu and five other states rebelled, the emperor was constantly going from his own palace to that of the empress dowager to consult her during those anxious months, and once the revolt was suppressed he never again spoke of war and the empire prospered. Now since Your Majesty sent out expeditions against the Huns, the empire has become exhausted while the people at the borders are in desperate straits. For these reasons I say it would be best to make peace."

The emperor then asked Zhang Tang's opinion.

"This Confucian is an ignorant fool," said Zhang Tang.

"My loyalty may be foolish," retorted Di Shan. "But the loyalty of the chief counsellor Zhang Tang is spurious. Take the way he handled the case of the princes of Huainan and Jiangdu. He prosecuted them

### 【原文】

自安。臣固知汤之为诈忠。”于是上作色曰：“吾使生居一郡，能无使虏入盗乎？”曰：“不能。”曰：“居一县？”对曰：“不能。”复曰：“居一障间？”山自度辩穷且下吏，曰：“能。”于是上遣山乘鄣。至月余，匈奴斩山头而去。自是以后，群臣震慑。

汤之客田甲，虽贾人，有贤操。始汤为小吏时，与钱通，及汤为大吏，甲所以责汤行义过失，亦有烈士风。

汤为御史大夫七岁，败。

河东人李文尝与汤有隙，已而为御史中丞，恚，数从中文书事有可以伤汤者，不能为地。汤有所爱史鲁谒居，知汤不平，使人上

### 【今译】

本来就知道张汤是伪忠。”于是皇上变了脸色说：“我派你驻守一个郡，能够不让胡虏进来掠夺吗？”狄山说：“不能。”皇上说：“驻守一个县呢？”回答说：“不能。”皇上又说：“驻守一个要塞城堡呢？”狄山自己估计辩词穷尽将被交给司法官治罪，就说：“能。”于是皇上派狄山前往边塞守城。到那里一个多月，匈奴人砍下狄山的头而离去。从这以后，大臣们都震惊害怕。

张汤的宾客田甲，虽然是商人，但有贤良的节操。当初张汤做小官时，和他以钱财相交，等到张汤当了大官，田甲责备张汤品行道义的过错行为，也有忠义之士的风范。

张汤担任御史大夫七年，败亡。

河东人李文曾经跟张汤有隔阂，后来担任了御史中丞，心怀怨恨，多次从宫廷文书内容中发现可以用来中伤张汤的问题，不肯为张汤留余地。张汤有个他喜欢的属吏叫鲁谒居，知道张汤对



with the utmost rigour of the law, estranging those of one flesh and blood and spreading unrest among the princes. So I know that his loyalty is nothing but an outward show."

The emperor's face darkened and he demanded, "If I gave you a province to govern, could you keep the barbarians from invading it?"

"No, I could not," admitted Di Shan.

"How about a county?"

"No."

"One frontier post, then?"

Fearful of being put on trial if his answer was found wanting, Di Shan replied, "Yes, I could manage that."

Then the emperor sent him to hold a frontier post, but in little more than a month Hunnish raiders cut off his head. After that all the other officials were thoroughly cowed.

One of Zhang Tang's protégés, Tian Jia, was a merchant but a man of good character. When Zhang Tang was a minor official he had certain transactions with him, but after Zhang Tang became a high official Tian Jia used to criticize him for his faults like a man of honour. Zhang Tang served as grand secretary for seven years before his downfall.

Li Wen of Hedong bore Zhang Tang a grudge. After he became an assistant to the grand secretary, his resentment rankled and he searched the files for incriminating documents, but could find none. One of Zhang Tang's favourite secretaries, Lu Yeju, knew that the grand secre-



### 【原文】

蜚变告文奸事。事下汤，汤治论杀文，而汤心知谒居为之。上问曰：“言变事纵迹安起？”汤详惊曰：“此殆文故人怨之。”谒居病卧闾里主人，汤自往视疾，为谒居摩足。赵国以冶铸为业，王数讼铁官事，汤常排赵王。赵王求汤阴事。谒居尝案赵王，赵王怨之，并上书告：“汤，大臣也，史谒居有病，汤至为摩足，疑与为大奸。”事下廷尉。谒居病死，事连其弟，弟系导官。汤亦治他囚导官，见谒居弟，欲阴为之，而详不省。谒居弟弗知，怨汤，使人上书告汤与谒居谋，共变告李文。事下减宣。宣尝与汤有隙，及得此事，穷竟其事，未奏也。会人有盗发孝文园瘗钱，丞相青翟朝，与

### 【今译】

此愤愤不平，指使人呈上紧急奏章告发李文的坏事。这事下交张汤处理，张汤审理判决杀死了李文，而张汤内心知道是鲁谒居干的。皇上问：“上书告发紧急事件的线索是从何而起呢？”张汤假装惊奇说：“这大概是李文的熟人怨恨他。”鲁谒居患病躺在乡里房东家里，张汤亲自前往探望病情，替鲁谒居按摩脚。赵国人以冶炼铸造为职业，赵王多次为铁官的事打官司，张汤常常打击赵王。赵王寻求张汤的隐私事。鲁谒居曾经检举赵王，赵王怨恨他，于是一并上书告发：“张汤，是大臣，小吏鲁谒居有病，张汤甚至给他按摩脚，怀疑他和鲁谒居一起干了大坏事。”这事下交廷尉处理。鲁谒居病死了，事情牵连到他的弟弟，他弟弟被押在导官署。张汤也到导官署处理别的囚犯，看见了鲁谒居的弟弟，想暗地里帮他，而假装不理睬他。鲁谒居的弟弟不知道，怨恨张汤，派人上书告发张汤和鲁谒居密谋，共同策划按紧急事变告发李文。这事下交减宣处理。减宣曾经和张汤有隔阂，到他抓住了这件事，就把这事追根究底，还没有上奏。恰逢有人偷挖汉文帝陵墓里的殉葬钱，丞相庄青翟上朝，跟张汤约定一起谢罪，到了



tary was uneasy on this score and persuaded someone to impeach Li Wen. The case was referred to Zhang Tang, who had Li Wen sentenced to death. Zhang Tang knew quite well that Lu Yeju was behind this, but when the emperor asked, "Who brought this charge of sedition?" he put on a look of surprise and replied, "I suppose it was some old acquaintance who disliked Li Wen."

When Lu Yeju fell ill and was lying in bed in the house of a neighbour, Zhang Tang went in person to ask after him and massaged his feet for him.

The main industry in the principality of Zhao is iron smelting, and the prince of Zhao repeatedly went to law with the government officer in charge of this industry, but Zhang Tang always took the latter's side. So the prince was eager to catch Zhang Tang out. And he also hated Lu Yeju, who had once filed charges against him. He therefore addressed a memorial to the throne saying that Zhang Tang was a high minister, yet when his secretary Lu Yeju fell ill he had gone so far as to massage his feet for him. He suspected that they must be plotting treason together.

By the time the matter was referred to the chief justice Lu Yeju had died of illness, but the case involved his younger brother, who was detained in the retainers' office. Zhang Tang happened to be investigating a case in that office and, noticing Lu Yeju's brother, he was eager to help him; but wanting to do so in secret, he pretended not to know him. The young man, not realizing this, was highly indignant and got someone to write a memorial to the throne accusing Zhang Tang of plotting with Lu Yeju to charge Li Wen with sedition. The matter was investigated by Jian Xuan, and as he had a grudge against Zhang Tang he went into the case very thoroughly.

Before Jian Xuan submitted a report, Emperor Wen's sepulchre was opened and coins stolen from it. The prime minister Zhuang Qingdi



### 【原文】

汤约俱谢，至前，汤念独丞相以四时行园，当谢，汤无与也，不谢。丞相谢，上使御史案其事。汤欲致其文丞相见知，丞相患之。三长史皆害汤，欲陷之。

始长史朱买臣，会稽人也，读《春秋》。庄助使人言买臣，买臣以《楚辞》与助俱幸，侍中，为太中大夫，用事。而汤乃为小吏，跪伏使买臣等前。已而汤为廷尉，治淮南狱，排挤庄助，买臣固心望。及汤为御史大夫，买臣以会稽守为主爵都尉，列于九卿。数年，坐法废，守长史，见汤，汤坐床上，丞史遇买臣弗为礼。买臣楚士，深怨，常欲死之。王朝，齐人也。以术至右内史。边通，

### 【今译】

皇上面前，张汤想到只有丞相按四季巡视陵园，应当谢罪，与我张汤没有关系，因而不谢罪。丞相谢罪后，皇上派御史查办这件事。张汤要按知情条文处置丞相，丞相担心这件事。丞相手下的三个长史都认为张汤是祸患，想要陷害他。

起初，长史朱买臣，是会稽人，攻读《春秋》。庄助让人向皇上推荐朱买臣，朱买臣因为熟悉《楚辞》而与庄助都得到皇上的宠幸，任侍中，担任太中大夫，当权。而张汤只是小官，在朱买臣等面前下跪听候差遣。不久张汤当了廷尉，办理淮南王案件，排挤庄助，朱买臣心里当然怨恨张汤。待张汤当了御史大夫，朱买臣从会稽太守的职位上调任了主爵都尉，位列九卿之中。几年后，因犯法被罢官，暂任长史，去拜见张汤，张汤坐在椅子上，手下丞史一类的属官不以礼对待朱买臣。朱买臣是楚地士人，深深怨恨张汤，常想把他整死。王朝，是齐地人。凭着儒家学说当了右内史。边通，学习纵横家的学说，是个性格刚强暴



and Zhang Tang agreed to go to court together to apologize for this. Before they reached the court, however, Zhang Tang decided that since it was the prime minister's duty to make seasonal inspections of the burial grounds, he himself was in no way responsible and need not apologize. After the prime minister made his apologies, the emperor ordered Zhang Tang to investigate the case. Zhang Tang wanted to prove that the prime minister was to blame, and Zhuang Qingdi was seriously alarmed.

At this time the three chief secretaries of the prime minister's office hated Zhang Tang and were eager to ruin him. One of them, Zhu Maichen of Kuaiji, had made a study of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Zhuang Zhu induced someone to recommend him to the emperor and both he and Zhuang Zhu won the imperial favour. Zhu Maichen was favoured because of his knowledge of the *Literature of Chu*. They were serving in the palace as grand counsellors while Zhang Tang was still a minor officer who had to kneel before them. After Zhang Tang became chief justice and investigated the case of the prince of Huainan, he vented his dislike of Zhuang Zhu and Zhu Maichen by denouncing them. Later Zhang Tang became grand secretary while Zhu Maichen served as governor of Kuaiji and then as the officer in charge of the principalities, ranking as one of the nine chief ministers. A few years later, being charged with some offence, he was removed from his post and made a secretary. When he called on Zhang Tang, the latter did not rise from his couch but treated him as unceremoniously as if he were a petty clerk. Zhu Maichen, a true man of Zhu, was consumed with indignation and cast about for means to kill Zhang Tang.

Then there was Wang Chao of Qi, who became senior city prefect through his knowledge of the classics. And Bian Tong, a man of a stubborn, violent temper, who had studied oratory and twice served

## 【原文】

学长短，刚暴强人也，官再至济南相。故皆居汤右，已而失官，守长史，屈体于汤。汤数行丞相事，知此三长史素贵，常凌折之。以故三长史合谋曰：“始汤约与君谢，已而卖君；今欲劾君以宗庙事，此欲代君耳。吾知汤阴事。”使吏捕案汤左田信等，曰汤且欲奏请，信辄先知之，居物致富，与汤分之，及他奸事。事辞颇闻，上问汤曰：“吾所为，贾人辄先知之，益居其物，是类有以吾谋告之者。”汤不谢。汤又详惊曰：“固宜有。”减宣亦奏谒居等事。天子果以汤怀诈面欺，使使八辈簿责汤。汤具自道无此，不服。于是上使赵禹责汤。禹至，让汤曰：“君何不知分也。君所治夷灭者

## 【今译】

烈的强悍之人，当官两次做到济南王的丞相。从前他们都比张汤的官大，不久丢了官，暂任长史，对张汤行跪拜之礼。张汤屡次代理丞相的职务，知道这三个长史原来地位很高，就常常凌辱欺负他们。因此三位长史合谋说：“开始张汤同你约定一起向皇上谢罪，过后就出卖了你；现在又想用宗庙的事控告你，这是想代替你的职位。我们知道张汤的隐私事。”于是就派属吏逮捕并审理张汤的亲信田信等人，说张汤将要向皇上奏请政事，田信总预先就知道，然后囤积物资发财致富，同张汤分赃，以及其它坏事。有关此事的供辞有些被皇上听到了，皇上问张汤说：“我所要做的事，商人总预先知道，越发囤积那些货物，这好像有人把我的想法告诉了他们一样。”张汤不谢罪。张汤又假装惊讶地说：“的确像有这事。”减宣也上奏书报告张汤和鲁谒居的犯法之事。天子果然以为张汤心怀奸诈当面欺骗君王，派八批使者按记录在案的罪证审问张汤。张汤自己说没有这些罪过，不服。于是皇上派赵禹审问张汤。赵禹来了以后，责备张汤说：“你怎么这样不知本



as the minister of Jinan. All three of these men ranked above Zhang Tang till they lost their posts and became secretaries of the prime minister, lower in position than Zhang Tang. On several occasions when he was acting prime minister, knowing that these three men had held high positions, he went out of his way to insult them.

Accordingly these three secretaries plotted together and told the prime minister, "Zhang Tang went with you, sir, to apologize to the emperor, but then let you down. Now he intends to impeach you over the desecration of the ancestral temple so that he can take your place. But we know his guilty secrets."

They sent officers to arrest Zhang Tang's friend Tian Xin and other merchants on the charge that Tian Xin knew in advance whatever memorial Zhang Tang was going to present, and that he shared the wealth made in this way with Zhang Tang. There were other charges too.

When the emperor learned of this he said to Zhang Tang, "The merchants know all my decisions in advance and hoard certain commodities. Someone must be disclosing my plans to them."

Instead of apologizing, Zhang Tang put on an air of surprise and said, "Yes, it certainly looks like that."

Jian Xuan also submitted his report on Lu Yeju and others. Then the emperor realized that Zhang Tang had deceived him and sent eight officers to check up on his records. But Zhang Tang denied all guilt and would not confess. The emperor ordered Zhao Yu to reprove him.

Zhao Yu went to Zhang Tang and said scathingly, "Can't you un-

## 【原文】

几何人矣？今人言君皆有状，天子重致君狱，欲令君自为计，何多以对簿为？”汤乃为书谢曰：“汤无尺寸功，起刀笔吏，陛下幸致为三公，无以塞责。然谋陷汤罪者，三长史也。”遂自杀。

汤死，家产直不过五百金，皆所得奉赐，无他业。昆弟诸子欲厚葬汤，汤母曰：“汤为天子大臣，被污恶言而死，何厚葬乎！”载以牛车，有棺无椁。天子闻之，曰：“非此母不能生此子。”乃尽案诛三长史。丞相青翟自杀。出田信。上惜汤，稍迁其子安世。

赵禹中废，已而为廷尉。始条侯以为禹贼深，弗任。及禹为少府，比九卿。禹酷急，至晚节，事益多，吏务为严峻，而禹治加

## 【今译】

分？你办理案件夷灭家族的有多少人呢？如今人家告你的罪状都有证据，天子把你下狱很为难，想让你自己想法处理，何必多此一举对证答辩呢？”张汤就写信谢罪说：“张汤没有尺寸之功，从文书小吏做起，陛下宠幸让我位列三公，无法推卸罪责，然而设谋陷害张汤罪过的，是三位长史。”于是自杀了。

张汤死后，家里财产价值不过五百金，都是所得的俸禄和皇上的赏赐，没有别的产业。他的兄弟和孩子们想隆重地安葬张汤，张汤的母亲说：“张汤担任天子的大臣，被恶言诬陷而死，厚葬什么！”用牛车拉着，有棺材没有外椁。天子听说这事，说：“不是这样的母亲不能生出这样的儿子。”于是穷究此案诛杀了三个长史。丞相庄青翟自杀。释放田信。皇上怜惜张汤，逐渐提拔他的儿子张安世。

赵禹中途被罢官，不久又任廷尉。起初条侯认为赵禹残酷狠毒，没重用他。等到赵禹任少府，与九卿并列。赵禹做事严酷急迫，到了晚年，刑狱事情更多，官吏致力于施行严刑峻法，而赵



derstand the position you are in? Not even after all the men you have condemned to death with their whole families? All the charges against you are backed by written evidence. The emperor has ordered an investigation because he wants you to choose your own way to die. What good would a long trial do?"

Then Zhang Tang wrote an apology, saying, "Although with no vestige of merit, I was raised by Your Majesty's favour from the position of a clerk with knife and stylus to become one of the three highest ministers. It is true I have failed in my duty, but I am the victim of a plot by the three secretaries of the prime minister." Then he committed suicide.

After his death his property was found to amount to no more than five hundred pieces of gold, and these had been a gift from the emperor. He had no other estate. His younger brothers and sons would have given him a fine funeral had not his mother objected.

"He was a high minister serving the Son of Heaven, yet he got a name for corruption and took his own life," she said. "Why should he have a fine funeral?" So they had his coffin loaded on to an ox-cart and gave him no outer coffin.

When this came to the ears of the emperor he remarked, "Only such a mother could have had such a son!" He had the three secretaries tried and executed. The prime minister committed suicide and Tian Xin was released. Because the emperor regretted Zhang Tang's death, he promoted his son Zhang Anshi.

Zhao Yu was once dismissed from office but later became chief justice. The marquis of Tiao had given him no appointment because he considered him too ruthless, and when Zhao Yu later became privy treasurer with the rank of a high minister he did indeed prove extremely harsh. In his later years; when there was more litigation and most officials applied the utmost rigour of the law, Zhao Yu became

**【原文】**

缓，而名为平。王温舒等后起，治酷于禹。禹以老，徙为燕相。数岁，乱悖有罪，免归。后汤十余年，以寿卒于家。

义纵者，河东人也。为少年时，尝与张次公俱攻剽为群盗。纵有姊姁，以医幸王太后。王太后问：“有子兄弟为官者乎？”姊曰：“有弟无行，不可。”太后乃告上，拜义姁弟纵为中郎，补上党郡中令。治敢行，少蕴藉，县无逋事，举为第一。迁为长陵及长安令，直法行治，不避贵戚。以捕案太后外孙修成君子仲，上以为能，迁为河内都尉。至则族灭其豪穰氏之属，河内道不拾遗。而张次公亦为郎，以勇悍从军，敢深

**【今译】**

禹执法变得轻缓，被称为平和。王温舒等后起之辈，执法比赵禹还严酷。赵禹因为年老，改任燕国相。几年后，犯有昏乱悖逆之罪，被罢官回家。在张汤死后十多年，寿终正寝老死在家里。

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义纵，是河东人。还是少年时，曾经和张次公一起抢劫，结伙为强盗。义纵有个姐姐义姁，凭借医术得到王太后的宠幸。王太后问她说：“你有兄弟可当官的吗？”他姐姐说：“有个弟弟没有品行，不可以当官。”王太后就告诉皇上，皇上任命义姁的弟弟义纵担任中郎，后来补任上党郡中的县令。他处理政事敢作敢为，缺少宽容气度，县里没有积压的公事，被推举为第一。升任长陵和长安县令，依法办理政事，不避权贵和皇亲。由于逮捕审讯太后外孙修成君的儿子仲，皇上认为他能干，升任河内都尉。他到那里就把穰氏一类的豪强家族全族灭除，河内郡道不拾遗。而张次公也当了郎官，因为勇猛强悍从军，敢于深入敌阵，有功



more lenient and won a name for fairness. Law officers after him like Wang Wenshu were much harsher than Zhao Yu. In his old age he was transferred to be chief minister of Yan. A few years later he was dismissed on a charge of improper conduct, and he died of old age at home more than ten years after Zhang Tang's death.

Yi Zong was a native of Hedong. As a young man he and Zhang Cigong lived as brigands. His elder sister Xu found favour with Empress Dowager Wang thanks to her knowledge of medicine.

"Have you any sons or brothers in official posts?" the empress dowager asked her.

"I have a younger brother, but he is not fit for any post," she replied.

However, the empress dowager persuaded the emperor to make Yi Zong a palace guard and a magistrate in the province of Shangdang. He proved a firm, enterprising administrator and there was no tax evasion in his county, so that he was held up as an example to others. Promoted to be magistrate of Changling and then of Chang'an, he governed justly according to the law, not shrinking from clashes with nobles. His arrest and trial of Zhong, the son of Lady Xiucheng who was the empress dowager's grand-daughter, so impressed the emperor that he promoted Yi Zong to be military tribune of Henei. There he wiped out the powerful clan of Rang, and soon the people of Henei dared not pick up anything dropped in the road.

Zhang Cigong also served as a palace guard. Being a fearless man he joined the army, advanced boldly into enemy territory and so distin-



## 【原文】

人，有功，为岸头侯。

宁成家居，上欲以为郡守。御史大夫弘曰：“臣居山东为小吏时，宁成为济南都尉，其治如狼牧羊。成不可使治民。”上乃拜成为关都尉。岁余，关东吏隶郡国出入关者，号曰“宁见乳虎，无值宁成之怒”。义纵自河内迁为南阳太守，闻宁成家居南阳，及纵至关，宁成侧行送迎，然纵气盛，弗为礼。至郡，遂案宁氏，尽破碎其家。成坐有罪，及孔、暴之属皆奔亡，南阳吏民重足一迹。而平氏朱彊、杜衍、杜周为纵牙爪之吏，任用，迁为廷史。军数出定襄，定襄吏民乱败，于是徙纵为定襄太守。纵至，掩定襄狱中重罪轻系二百余入，及宾客昆弟私人相视亦二百余入。纵一捕鞠，日

## 【今译】

劳，被封为岸头侯。

宁成在家里居住，皇上想让他担任郡守。御史大夫公孙弘说：“我在山东当小官时，宁成任济南都尉，他处理政事就像狼放羊一样。不能让宁成治理人民。”皇上就任命宁成为关都尉。一年多后，隶属于关东各郡国的官吏往来过关的，都传扬说：“宁可看到哺乳期的母虎，也不想碰上宁成发怒。”义纵从河内升任南阳太守，听说宁成家住在南阳，等到义纵过关时，宁成侧着身子随行迎送，可是义纵盛气凌人，不以礼相待。到了郡里，义纵就追查宁家的罪行，完全毁灭了他们一家。宁成被判有罪，跟孔氏、暴氏之流都奔逃了，南阳的官员百姓恐惧得缩手缩脚。而平氏人朱彊、杜衍、杜周作为义纵的得力助手，得到任用，升为廷史。朝廷军队多次从定襄出击，定襄官员百姓受到扰乱生活不安，于是调义纵担任定襄太守。义纵到任后，突然袭击抽查出定襄狱中重罪轻罚的囚犯二百多人，以及他们的宾客兄弟私自入狱探视的



guished himself that he was enfeoffed as marquis of Antou.

Ning Cheng was then living in retirement and the emperor wanted to make him the governor of a province, but the grand secretary Gongsun Hong objected. "When I served as a minor official east of the mountains, Ning Cheng was the military tribune of Jinan," he said. "He harried the people as a wolf harasses sheep. It would never do to let him govern a province." So the emperor made Ning Cheng military tribune of the Hangu Pass. And a year or so later officers who had come through the Pass from provinces to the east declared, "Better to meet a tigress with cubs than face an angry Ning Cheng!"

After Yi Zong was transferred from his post in Henan to be governor of Nanyang, he heard that Ning Cheng was living there in retirement. Ning Cheng came to welcome him humbly at the Pass, but Yi Zong behaved insolently and did not greet him. Upon reaching his post he put Ning Cheng on trial and destroyed his family. After Ning Cheng was convicted and men of the Kong and Bao families fled, the officers and citizens of Nanyang all took care to keep in step. Moreover Yi Zong used Zhu Jiang of Pingshi and Du Zhou of Du Yan as his claws and teeth in applying the law, and appointed them as secretaries in the office of the chief justice.

After several expeditions had marched through Dingxiang, the provincial authorities and the people there were demoralized, and Yi Zong was transferred to govern the province. His first act upon arrival was to seize two hundred and more prisoners who were in the provincial gaol for heavy and light offences, along with more than two hundred friends and relatives who had slipped in without permission to see them. Accusing them all of conniving at the escape of criminals charged



## 【原文】

“为死罪解脱”。是日皆报杀四百余人。其后郡中不寒而栗，猾民佐吏为治。

是时赵禹、张汤以深刻为九卿矣，然其治尚宽，辅法而行，而纵以鹰击毛挚为治。后会五铢钱白金起，民为奸，京师尤甚，乃以纵为右内史，王温舒为中尉。温舒至恶，其所为不先言纵，纵必以气凌之，败坏其功。其治，所诛杀甚多，然取为小治，奸益不胜。直指始出矣。吏之治以斩杀缚束为务，阎奉以恶用矣。纵廉，其治放郅都。上幸鼎湖，病久，已而卒起幸甘泉，道多不治。上怒曰：“纵以我为不复行此道乎？”嫌之。至冬，杨可方受告缗，纵以为

## 【今译】

也有二百多人。义纵一概拘捕治罪，定罪名说“为死罪解脱”。这天总共判处死刑有四百多人。从那以后郡中人都不寒而栗，狡猾的人辅佐官吏处理政事。

这时赵禹、张汤由于执法严峻刻薄而位列九卿了，可是他们施政还算宽松，刑罚是辅助法律来处理事情，而义纵用像鹰隼扑击翅膀捕猎一样严酷的手段处理政事。后来恰逢五铢钱白金启用，奸民铸造伪钱，京城尤其厉害。于是任命义纵为右内史，王温舒为中尉。王温舒最凶恶，他所做的事不预先告知义纵，义纵一定负气凌辱他，破坏他的事情。他治理政事，杀的人很多，但是只能取得小效果，奸邪更加不能制止。皇帝直接特派的官员开始出现了。官吏治理政事以斩杀抓人为目标，阎奉因为凶狠而被任用。义纵廉洁，他处理政事学习郅都。皇上巡行鼎湖，病了很长时间，病好后突然起身驾幸甘泉宫，沿途道路大多没有修筑好。皇上发怒说：“义纵以为我不会再走这条路了吗？”恼恨义纵。到了冬天，杨可正受命实施举报逃税令，义纵认为这样会扰



with capital offences, he had all four hundred and more of them executed that same day. Then the men of that province trembled and those who were cunning began to help the officers in their tasks.

By this time Zhao Yu and Zhang Tang had become high officials through their harsh application of the law, yet they were lenient compared with Yi Zong and they acted in accordance with the law, whereas he enforced his rule like a hawk swooping down on its prey.

Later the debasing of the coinage gave rise to malpractices among the people, particularly in the capital. So Yi Zong was appointed the senior prefect of the capital with Wang Wenshu as metropolitan tribune. Wang Wenshu was quite merciless. But if he took action without first consulting Yi Zong, the latter would abuse and discredit him. Yi Zong in his term of office executed a whole host of people yet failed to establish good order, for lawlessness only increased and special constables had to be appointed. Their main task was to carry out executions and arrests, and Yan Feng was employed because of his cruel nature.

Yi Zong was incorruptible, modelling his administration on that of Zhi Du.

The emperor fell ill while visiting Dinghu and remained there for some time. When at last he recovered and made a trip to Ganquan, he was angry to find the road in poor repair and exclaimed indignantly, "Yi Zong must have thought I would never pass this way again!"

That winter Yang Ke was given the task of collecting evidence of



### 【原文】

此乱民，部吏捕其为可使者。天子闻，使杜式治，以为废格沮事，弃纵市。后一岁，张汤亦死。

王温舒者，阳陵人也。少时椎埋为奸。已而试补县亭长，数废。为吏，以治狱至廷史。事张汤，迁为御史。督盗贼，杀伤甚多，稍迁至广平都尉。择郡中豪敢任吏十余人，以为爪牙，皆把其阴重罪，而纵使督盗贼，快其意所欲得。此人虽有百罪，弗法；即有避，因其事夷之，亦灭宗。以其故齐赵之郊盗贼不敢近广平，广平声为道不拾遗。上闻，迁为河内太守。

### 【今译】

乱百姓，部署官吏捉拿了替杨可办事的人。天子听说了，派杜式处理这事，定为废弃敬君礼仪破坏天子大事，将义纵处死示众。一年后，张汤也死了。

王温舒，是阳陵人。他年轻时盗墓作歹。后来被试用补任县里的亭长，多次遭罢免。担任官职，因为善于处理案件而升到廷史。事奉张汤，升为御史。督察拘捕盗贼，杀伤的人很多，逐渐升到广平都尉。他选拔郡中豪犷果敢能办事的官吏十多人，作为得力助手，掌握了他们每个人隐秘的重大罪行，而放手让他们去督察拘捕盗贼。如果能抓住王温舒想抓的盗贼使他心意得到满足，这个人即使有百种罪恶也不加惩治；如果有所避忌，就依据他掌握的罪行杀死他，并且灭掉他的家族。由于这个原因齐地、赵地郊野的盗贼不敢接近广平，广平号称道不拾遗。皇上听说了，提升王温舒任河内太守。



tax evasion and, fearing this would lead to public unrest, Yi Zong told his officers to arrest Yang Ke's agents. When the emperor heard of this he ordered Du Shi to investigate the matter. Yi Zong was convicted of obstructing state policy and executed in the marketplace. Zhang Tang died the following year.

Wang Wenshu was a native of Yangling who in his youth robbed graves and broke the law. He was made a constable in his county and, although dismissed several times, subsequently became an officer of the law and a secretary in the office of the chief justice under Zhang Tang. Transferred to be a censor in charge of suppressing brigandage, he had a great number of people executed. Then he became military tribune of Guangping and chose more than ten able men of that province as his henchmen, keeping them under his thumb with evidence of their secret crimes while he used them to control thieves and brigands. So long as they fell in with his wishes, Wang would not punish them even if they were guilty of a hundred crimes. But once a man went against his wishes, he charged him with his past crimes and had him executed with all his clan. As a result, no brigand in the region of Qi and Zhao dared come near Guangping, and it became known as a district in which no one picked up anything dropped in the road. When the emperor heard of this he promoted Wang to be governor of Henei.

**【原文】**

素居广平时，皆知河内豪奸之家，及往，九月而至。令郡具私马五十匹，为驿自河内至长安，部吏如居广平时方略，捕郡中豪猾，郡中豪猾相连坐千余家。上书请，大者至族，小者乃死，家尽没入偿臧。奏行不过二三日，得可事。论报，至流血十余里。河内皆怪其奏，以为神速。尽十二月，郡中毋声，毋敢夜行，野无犬吠之盗。其颇不得失，之旁郡国，黎来，会春，温舒顿足叹曰：“嗟乎！令冬月益展一月，足吾事矣！”其好杀伐行威不爱人如此。天子闻之，以为能，迁为中尉。其治复放河内，徙诸名祸猾吏与从事，河内则杨皆、麻戊，关中杨赣、成信等。义纵为内史，惮未敢

**【今译】**

王温舒往常在广平时，完全了解河内豪强奸诈的人家，到他前往上任，九月就到了。他下令郡府准备五十匹私马，从河内到长安设置了驿站，部署手下的官吏就像在广平时所用的办法一样，捕捉郡中豪强奸诈的人，郡中豪强奸诈的人相互牵连获罪的有一千多家。王温舒上书请求，罪大的直至灭族，罪小的也是处死，家里财产全都没收抵偿赃物。奏书送走没过两三天，就得到可以照办的批覆。宣判处决犯人，竟至流血十多里。河内人都觉得王温舒的奏书奇怪，认为是神速。到十二月结束，郡中没有人敢说话，没人敢夜间走路，野外没有引起狗吠的偷盗。那些少数没有抓到的罪犯，逃到附近的郡国，等追捕抓来，正好春天到了，王温舒跺脚叹息说：“唉呀！让冬天再延长一个月，就够我办完事了！”他喜好杀伐施展威武不爱惜人命到这个地步。皇上听说了，认为他能干，提升他任中尉。他治理政事又仿效在河内的做法，调来那些有名的祸害奸猾的官吏和他共事，河内的有杨皆、麻戊，关中的有杨赣、成信等。义纵任内史，王温舒有所惧怕不



While still in Guangping Wang Wenshu had learned which of the powerful families of Henei had committed crimes. When he reached his new post in the ninth month, he ordered the provincial office to requisition fifty horses to use as post horses between Henei and the capital and made his subordinates act just as in Guangping, arresting all evil-doers of any prominence in the province. More than one thousand families were involved. He drew up a memorial to the throne asking that the major offenders should have their clans wiped out, and that the lesser offenders should be executed and have their property confiscated by the public treasury. Only two or three days after dispatching this memorial he received the emperor's approval. He took action at once, and more than ten *li* of land was drenched with blood. The whole of Henei marvelled at the speed with which this was done. By the twelfth month not a voice was raised in the province, not a man dared walk abroad at night, there was not a bandit in the countryside to set dogs barking. And the few who escaped to neighbouring provinces and principalities were hounded by his men.

When spring came, Wang Wenshu stamped his foot and sighed. "If only the winter had lasted one month longer, I could have finished off the job," he said. Such was his delight in killing men and demonstrating his might and ruthlessness. The emperor, learning of this, considered Wang Wenshu able and promoted him to be the metropolitan tribune where he acted as in Henei. He enlisted as his subordinates the officers noted for cruelty and cunning, men like Yang Jie and Ma Wu of Henei and Yang Gan and Cheng Xin of Guanzhong. So long as Yi

## 【原文】

恣治。及纵死，张汤败后，徙为廷尉，而尹齐为中尉。

尹齐者，东郡茌平人。以刀笔稍迁至御史。事张汤，张汤数称以为廉武，使督盗贼，所斩伐不避贵戚。迁为关内都尉，声甚于宁成。上以为能，迁为中尉，吏民益凋敝。尹齐木强少文，豪恶吏伏匿而善吏不能为治，以故事多废，抵罪。上复徙温舒为中尉，而杨仆以严酷为主爵都尉。

杨仆者，宜阳人也。以千夫为吏。河南守案举以为能，迁为御史，使督盗贼关东。治放尹齐，以为敢擎行。稍迁至主爵都尉，列九卿。天子以为能。南越反，拜为楼船将军，有功，封将梁侯。为荀彘所缚。居久之，病死。

## 【今译】

敢任意行事。到义纵死了，张汤败灭后，王温舒调任廷尉，尹齐任中尉。

尹齐，是东郡茌平人。因擅长文书工作逐渐升到御史。事奉张汤，张汤多次称赞他认为他廉洁勇敢，让他督察拘捕盗贼，他斩杀犯人不回避权贵和皇亲。尹齐任关内都尉，名声超过了宁成。皇上认为他能干，提升他任中尉，而官吏和百姓更加困苦衰敝。尹齐为人木讷倔强缺乏文气，豪强凶恶的官员销声匿迹而善良的官员又不能处理好政事，因此政事大多废弛，被判了罪。皇上又调王温舒任中尉，而杨仆因为执法严酷而当上了主爵都尉。

杨仆，是宜阳人。以千夫的身份当了小官。河南太守考察推举官吏认为他有才能，升任御史，让他到关东督察拘捕盗贼。他处理政事仿效尹齐，被评论为果敢凶猛。渐渐升到主爵都尉，位列九卿。天子认为他有才能。南越反叛时，任命他为楼船将军，有功劳，被封为将梁侯。后来被荀彘捆绑受辱。过了很久，病死。



Zong was city prefect, Wang Wenshu did not dare go too far. But after Yi Zong's death and Zhang Tang's fall, Wang Wenshu was made chief justice with Yin Qi as the metropolitan tribune.

Yin Qi was a native of Shiping in Dongjun. He started his career as a clerk, then became a censor working under Zhang Tang, who on several occasions commended his integrity and courage and put him in charge of suppressing brigands. In executing and punishing men, he did not spare nobles. Promoted to be military tribune within the Pass, he won greater fame than Ning Cheng. The emperor, impressed by his ability, appointed him as the metropolitan tribune. Then officers and citizens alike had an even harder time.

Yin Qi was blunt and lacking in refinement. Powerful and harsh officials tried to keep out of his way, while the good officials could not work with him. Thus he failed in many undertakings and was punished. The emperor transferred Wang Wenshu back to the post of metropolitan tribune and made Yang Pu, known for his severity, the officer in charge of the principalities.

Yang Pu was a native of Yiyang who started his official career as an officer commanding a thousand men. The governor of Henan recommended him and he was promoted to the post of a censor in charge of bandit suppression east of the Pass. He adopted the bold, ruthless tactics of Yin Qi. Before long he was promoted to be the officer in charge of the principalities, ranking as one of the nine chief ministers. The emperor thought highly of his ability and, when the Nanyue rebelled, made him General of the Tiered Galleys. He distinguished himself in this campaign and was enfeoffed as the marquis of Jiangliang. But he was subsequently arrested by Xun Zhi, and some time later he died of illness.



### 【原文】

而温舒复为中尉。为人少文，居廷惛惛不辩，至于中尉则心开。督盗贼，素习关中俗，知豪恶吏，豪恶吏尽复为用，为方略。吏苛察，盗贼恶少年投鋗购告言奸，置伯格长以牧司奸盗贼。温舒为人谄，善事有势者；即无势者，视之如奴。有势家，虽有奸如山，弗犯；无势者，贵戚必侵辱。舞文巧诋下户之猾，以烹大豪。其治中尉如此。奸猾穷治，大抵尽靡烂狱中，行论无出者。其爪牙吏虎而冠。于是中尉部中中猾以下皆伏，有势者为游声誉，称治。治数岁，其吏多以权富。

### 【今译】

而王温舒又当了中尉。他为人缺乏文气，在朝廷上昏聩糊涂，不善辩论，到了当上中尉才心情开朗。他督察拘捕盗贼，平时熟悉关中的习俗，了解当地豪强和凶恶的官吏，豪强和凶恶的官吏全都又被他任用，为他出谋划策。官吏严苛督察，盗贼和凶恶少年用投书检举箱的办法，收买告发违法的情报，设置村落长来负责督察奸邪的人和盗贼。王温舒为人谄媚，善于巴结有权势的人；如果没有权势，就把人家看作奴仆一样。有权势的人家，即使奸邪的事堆积如山，他也不去碰；没有权势的人，就是显贵的皇亲也一定要侵犯欺凌。他玩弄法律条文巧言诋毁下等人家的狡猾之徒，来胁迫大的豪强。他当中尉时就是如此处理政事。对奸邪狡猾的人一定穷究罪行，这些人大多都烂死在狱中，定罪判决没有一个出狱的。他的得力助手官吏像是衣冠猛虎。于是在中尉管辖范围内的中等以下的奸猾之人都服服贴贴，有权势的人都替他宣扬名声，号称治理得好。治理了几年，他的属官大多都因有权力而富有。



Then Wang Wenshu again served as metropolitan tribune. Lacking refinement, at court he appeared dull and stupid, but as military tribune he was in his element. He suppressed brigands and thieves, understood the way of the people within the Pass, knew which were the ablest and most cunning and employed them as his officers to keep a close watch for robbers, thieves and young men of bad character. He offered rewards for informing on evil-doers through special letter boxes, and posted officers in the villages to look out for brigands.

Wang Wenshu was a sycophant who flattered those with power and treated the lowly like slaves. A powerful family might be guilty of a host of crimes, yet he would do nothing, whereas he would bully a family without influence even if it was a noble one. He skilfully manipulated the law to destroy petty rogues so as to bring pressure to bear on great families. This was his way as military tribune of the capital.

He carried out such exhaustive investigations that most of those accused died in prison; few were released. His henchmen were tigers in uniform. So all the lesser rogues in there region under his jurisdiction were subdued, while the powerful spread his fame as an able administrator. After several years of his administration most of his subordinates had grown rich by taking advantage of their position.



### 【原文】

温舒击东越还，议有不中意者，坐小法抵罪免。是时天子方欲作通天台而未有人，温舒请覆中尉脱卒，得数万人作。上说，拜为少府。徙为右内史，治如其故，奸邪少禁。坐法失官。复为右辅，行中尉事。如故操。

岁余，会宛军发，诏征豪吏，温舒匿其吏华成，及人有变告温舒受员骑钱，他奸利事，罪至族，自杀。其时两弟及两婚家亦各自坐他罪而族。光禄徐自为曰：“悲夫，夫古有三族，而王温舒罪至同时而五族乎！”

温舒死，家直累千金。后数岁，尹齐亦以淮阳都尉病死，家

### 【今译】

王温舒攻打东越回来后，有一次议事不合天子的旨意，因有微小的违法行为被判罪免官。这时天子正想建造通天台却没有找到人做造事，王温舒请求核查中尉属下退役的士兵，找到了几万人来充当劳动力。皇上高兴，任命他为少府。调任右内史，处理政事和以前一样，奸邪之事稍稍被禁止。后来犯法丢掉了官职。后来又任右辅，代理中尉的职务，还和以前的做法一样处理政事。

一年多后，恰逢讨伐大宛的军队出发，皇上下诏征召豪强官吏，王温舒把他的属吏华成隐藏起来，又有人以紧急事变告发王温舒接受在额骑兵的赃款和其它的坏事，犯的罪行严重到应当灭族，王温舒自杀了。当时他的两个弟弟以及两个姻亲之家也各自由于犯了其它罪而被灭族。光禄徐自为说：“可悲啊！古代有灭三族的事，而王温舒犯罪到同时诛灭五族！”

王温舒死时，家产累计有一千金。几年后，尹齐在任淮阳都。



After Wang Wenshu's return from the expedition against Dongyue, the emperor was displeased with something he said and punished and dismissed him for some trifling offence.

The emperor at this time was planning to build the Tower Reaching to Heaven, but no workmen were available. Wang Wenshu suggested using all the men who had evaded conscript duty under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan tribune, and by this means succeeded in getting several tens of thousands of workers. The emperor was pleased and made him privy treasurer and later senior metropolitan prefect. By employing his previous methods, he was able to put a certain check to crime. Subsequently he lost this post for some offence, but was later made the prefect of West Chang'an with the powers of a metropolitan tribune. He carried out his duties in this post as before.

A year or so later, just before the dispatch of the expedition to Ferghana, some powerful officers were summoned to take part in the campaign but Wang Wenshu concealed his lieutenant Hua Cheng. Later someone informed against him, accusing him of taking bribes and making illegal profits. Condemned to execution with his clan, he committed suicide. At the same time the families of his two brothers and brothers-in-law were also exterminated for other crimes.

The superintendent of the imperial household Xu Ziwei remarked, "Alas! In ancient times three classes of relatives were sometimes wiped out, but now Wang Wenshu has been punished by the destruction of five."

At the time of Wang Wenshu's death his family had a thousand pieces of gold. A few years later, when Yin Qi died while military tribune of Huaiyang, his estate was less than fifty pieces of gold. He



### 【原文】

直不满五十金。所诛灭淮阳甚多，及死，仇家欲烧其尸，尸亡去归葬。

自温舒等以恶为治，而郡守、都尉、诸侯二千石欲为治者，其治大抵尽放温舒，而吏民益轻犯法，盗贼滋起。南阳有梅免、白政，楚有殷中、杜少，齐有徐勃，燕赵之间有坚卢、范生之属。大群至数千人，擅自号，攻城邑，取库兵，释死罪，缚辱郡太守、都尉，杀二千石，为檄告县趣具食；小群以百数，掠卤乡里者，不可胜数也。于是天子始使御史中丞、丞相长史督之。犹弗能禁也，乃使光禄大夫范昆、诸辅都尉及故九卿张德等衣绣衣，持节虎符发兵以兴击，斩首大部或至万余级，及以法诛通饮

### 【今译】

尉期间病死，家产不足五十金。他在淮阳杀的人很多，到他死时，他的仇家要烧他的尸体，家人偷偷把他的尸体运回去安葬。

自从王温舒等人用严酷凶恶手段处理政事，郡守、都尉、诸侯和二千石的官员想处理好政事的，他们处理政事大多都效法王温舒，而官吏和百姓更加轻率地犯法，盗贼不断兴起。南阳有梅免、白政，楚地有殷中、杜少，齐地有徐勃，燕、赵一带有坚卢、范生一类人。大的团伙到几千人，擅自建立名号，攻打城邑，抢夺武器库中的兵器，放走死囚犯人，捆绑侮辱郡太守、都尉，杀死二千石官员，发布檄文让各县为他们准备饭食；小的团伙有几百人，抢劫乡村的，不可胜数。于是天子开始派御史中丞、丞相长史主持剿灭他们。还是不能禁绝，就派光禄大夫范昆、各位辅都尉和原九卿张德等人穿着刺绣朝服，拿着符节虎符出动军队进攻他们，对于大的团伙斩首有的达到一万多人，以及



had killed so many citizens of Huaiyang that his enemies wanted to burn his corpse, but it was taken secretly to his old home and buried.

Since Wang Wenshu and these others governed with such cruelty, most provincial governors, local tribunes and officers of the two thousand piculs rank who wanted to govern effectively copied their ways. Then officers and citizens alike thought nothing of breaking the law, while the number of brigands increased — men like Mei Mian and Bai Zheng in Nanyang, Yin Zhong and Du Shao in Chu, Xu Bo in Qi, and Jian Lu and Fan Sheng in the region between Yan and Zhao. The larger bands, numbering several thousand men, assumed titles, attacked cities and towns, seized weapons from the arsenals, released condemned prisoners, bound and insulted provincial governors and local tribunes, killed high officials of the two thousand piculs rank, and ordered the counties to supply them with food. The smaller bands of several hundred men which plundered innumerable villages were past counting.

The emperor ordered the chief officers under the prime minister and the censor to restore order, but they could not put an end to brigandage. Then the emperor sent out Fan Kun, superintendent of the imperial household, the prefects of the capital, the former minister Zhang De and others. Clad in embroidered robes, bearing the imperial credentials and tiger tallies, they mobilized forces to attack the bandits and killed large numbers of them, sometimes more than ten thousand at a time. Those who had supplied them with food were also punished,



### 【原文】

食，坐连诸郡，甚者数千人。数岁，乃颇得其渠率。散卒失亡，复聚党阻山川者，往往而群居，无可奈何。于是作“沈命法”，曰群盗起不发觉，发觉而捕弗满品者，二千石以下至小吏主者皆死。其后小吏畏诛，虽有盗不敢发，恐不能得，坐课累府，府亦使其不言。故盗贼浸多，上下相为匿，以文辞避法焉。

减宣者，杨人也。以佐史无害给事河东守府。卫将军青使买马河东，见宣无害，言上，征为大厩丞。官事辨，稍迁至御史及中丞。使治主父偃及治淮南反狱，所以微文深诋，杀者甚众，称为敢

### 【今译】

按法律杀死那些供给他们饮食的人，诛连几郡，多的达到几千人。几年后，才略微捉到了几个大首领。走散的士卒逃跑，又聚集形成团伙倚恃山川险阻抗击官兵的，往往群居一处，朝廷对他们没有办法。于是朝廷颁行“沈命法”，说群盗产生而官吏没发现，或者发现而没有捕捉到规定数额的，二千石以下至小官员凡主持这事的都要处死。那以后小官怕被杀，虽然有盗贼也不敢上报，害怕捉不到，犯法被判刑又连累上级官府，上级官府也让他们不要上报。因此盗贼更加多了，上下互相隐匿，玩弄法律条文逃避法律制裁。

减宣，是杨县人。因为当佐史无比能干被调到河东太守府任职。卫青将军派人到河东买马，看到减宣无比能干，报告皇上，被征召任大厩丞。当官做事出色，逐渐升到御史和中丞。被派去处理主父偃和淮南王造反的案件，用隐晦的条文深加诬陷，杀死的人很多，被称为敢于判决疑难案件。屡次被免官又屡次被起



and in some cases this involved thousands of people in the provinces.

After several years most of the chief bandits had been caught and the rest had scattered and fled. But they gathered behind the defences of mountains and rivers, and the authorities were powerless against them. Then a law against harbouring outlaws was promulgated. This decreed that if any officer failed to discover an outbreak of banditry, or having discovered one failed to arrest the chief culprits, everyone responsible would be put to death from officers of the two thousand piculs rank down to petty clerks. This so intimidated the lesser officials that they dared not report the presence of brigands for fear they might be unable to capture them. And as high officials were held responsible for the lower, they instructed the latter to hush up such cases. So although the country swarmed with more and more brigands, officials high and low concealed this fact, sending in false reports to keep out of trouble.

Jian Xuan was a native of Yang. Known for his competence as a clerk, he was employed by the governor of Hedong. And when Marshal Wei Qing was sent to Hedong to buy horses he was so struck by Jian Xuan's ability that he recommended him to the emperor, who appointed him officer of the imperial stables. Proving competent, he was promoted to the post of law officer and that of censor. And he was in charge of the prosecution of Zhufu Yan and those who had rebelled with the prince of Huainan. He kept to the letter of the law, brought serious charges, was responsible for many executions, and won a name for his bold handling of difficult cases. He was dismissed several times but always reinstated, and he served as law officer and cen-

### 【原文】

决疑。数废数起，为御史及中丞者几二十岁。王温舒免中尉，而宣为左内史。其治米盐，事大小皆关其手，自部署县名曹实物，官吏令丞不得擅摇，痛以重法绳之。居官数年，一切郡中为小治辨，然独宣以小致大，能因力行之，难以以为经。中废。为右扶风，坐怨成信，信亡藏上林中，宣使郿令格杀信，吏卒格信时，射中上林苑门，宣下吏诋罪，以为大逆，当族，自杀。而杜周任用。

杜周者，南阳杜衍人。义纵为南阳守，以为爪牙，举为廷尉史。事张汤，汤数言其无害，至御史。使案边失亡，所论杀甚

### 【今译】

用，担任御史和中丞差不多有二十年。王温舒被免去中尉，而减宣担任左内史。他管理米和盐的事，事情无论大小都要亲自经过他的手，自己安排县中各具体部门的财产器物，官吏县令县丞不能擅自改动，严厉地用重法来制裁他们。当官几年，其它各郡都只能办好一些小事而已，惟独减宣能从小事办到大事。能凭借威力加以推行，然而他的办法难以当作规则。他中途被罢官，后来当了右扶风。由于怨恨成信，成信逃走藏在上林苑中，减宣派郿县县令击杀成信，官吏和士兵击杀成信时，弓箭射中了上林苑的门，减宣被交给法官判罪，认为他犯大逆不道的罪，判处灭族，减宣自杀了。而杜周得到任用。

杜周，是南阳杜衍人。义纵担任南阳太守时，把杜周当作得力助手，举荐他担任廷尉史。他事奉张汤，张汤屡次向皇上说他才能无比，升任到御史。派他调查边境士卒逃亡的事，他判处死



sor for nearly twenty years.

After Wang Wenshu's dismissal from the post of military tribune of the capital, Jian Xuan became the junior metropolitan prefect. A meticulous administrator, he kept all matters, large and small, in his own hands and personally supervised all the officers in the counties and stores under his jurisdiction. No official might modify his orders on pain of severe punishment. After he had held office for several years, all the affairs in that region were well ordered; but his insistence on looking into every detail taxed his strength, and he could not keep this up indefinitely. He was later demoted to be prefect of the western district of the capital.

Jian Xuan hated Cheng Xin, who fled to Shanglin Park, and he ordered the magistrate of Mei to pursue and kill him. While the magistrate's troops were attacking Cheng Xin, one of their arrows struck the gate of the imperial park and Jian Xuan was charged with this offence, which ranked as high treason, and sentenced to execution with all his clan. He committed suicide and Du Zhou succeeded to his post.

Du Zhou was a native of Duyan in Nanyang. When Yi Zong was governor of Nanyang Du Zhou was a henchman of his. He was then promoted to be a secretary of the chief justice, Zhang Tang, who gave such good reports of him to the emperor that he was made a censor. Ordered to investigate cases of flight from border districts, he had a

### 【原文】

众。奏事中上意，任用，与减宣相编，更为中丞十余岁。其治与宣相放，然重迟，外宽，内深次骨。宣为左内史，周为廷尉，其治大放张汤而善候伺。上所欲挤者，因而陷之；上所欲释者，久系待问而微见其冤状。客有让周曰：“君为天子决平，不循三尺法，专以人主意指为狱。狱者固如是乎？”周曰：“三尺安出哉？前主所是著为律，后主所是疏为令，当时为是，何古之法乎！”

至周为廷尉，诏狱亦益多矣。二千石系者新故相因，不减百余人。郡吏大夫举之廷尉，一岁至千余章。章大者连逮证案数百，小者数十人；远者数千，近者数百里。会狱，吏因责如章告

### 【今译】

刑的很多。他上奏事情符合皇上的心意，被任用，和减宣互相接替，轮流任中丞十多年。他处理政事和减宣相似，但处事慎重决断迟缓，表面宽松，实际用法深刻入骨。减宣任左内史，杜周任廷尉，他处理政事很像张汤但善于窥测皇上的意图。皇上想排挤的，他就趁机陷害他；皇上想宽释的，就长期囚禁待审暗中显示他的冤情。门客中有人责备杜周说：“你为皇上公平断案，不遵循三尺法律，专门以皇上的旨意来断案。法官本来应该像这样的吗？”杜周说：“三尺法律是从哪里产生的呢？以前的国君认为对的就写成法律，后来的国君认为对的就解释成法令，适合当时的实际情况就对，哪里有什么古法！”

到杜周当了廷尉，皇上命令办的案子越发多了。二千石官员被拘捕的新旧相连，不下一百多人。郡国官员和上级官府送给廷尉办的案子，一年多达一千多个。奏章所举报的案子大的要牵连逮捕有关证人几百人，小的也要几十人；远的要走几千里，近的也有几百里。会审时，官吏就要求犯人像奏章所说的那样来招



great many people condemned to death. Since his memorials pleased the emperor, he was trusted as much as Jian Xuan. For more than ten years he served as the law officer in the censor's office.

Du Zhou's administration was like that of Jian Xuan, but while outwardly lenient he was in fact quite ruthless. When Jian Xuan was the junior city prefect, Du Zhou served as chief justice. He pursued a policy similar to that of Zhang Tang, and was also skilled in anticipating the emperor's wishes. If the emperor wanted to get rid of someone, Du Zhou would ruin the man; if the emperor wanted to spare someone, Du Zhou would use delaying tactics and try to prove that the charge was unfounded.

One of his guests reproached him for this, saying, "You are dispensing justice for the Son of Heaven, but instead of following the legal statutes you pass sentence according to your sovereign's wishes. Is this proper behaviour for a judge?"

"Where did those statutes originate?" Du Zhou retorted. "The legal codes were laid down by earlier sovereigns, the enacting clauses by their successors. Anything that suits the present time is right — what need have we for ancient laws?"

While Du Zhou was chief justice even more officials were condemned to imprisonment by the emperor, and there were usually more than a hundred officials of the two thousand piculs rank in prison. Every year more than a thousand indictments were referred to the chief justice from governors and high officials of the provinces, the graver cases involving several hundred men, the minor ones several dozens. Accused men came to the capital from several hundred or several thousand *li* away. When a case was tried, those who denied the

**【原文】**

劾，不服，以笞掠定之。于是闻有逮皆亡匿。狱久者至更数赦，十有余岁而相告言，大抵尽诋以不道以上。廷尉及中都官诏狱逮至六七万人，吏所增加十万余人。

周中废，后为执金吾，逐盗，捕治桑弘羊、卫皇后昆弟子，刻深，天子以为尽力无私，迁为御史大夫。家两子，夹河为守。其治暴酷皆甚于王温舒等矣。杜周初征为廷史，有一马，且不全；及身久任事，至三公列，子孙尊官，家訾累数巨万矣。

太史公曰：自郅都、杜周十人者，此皆以酷烈为声。然郅都伉直，引是非，争天下大体。张汤以知阴阳，人主与俱上下，时

**【今译】**

供，不服，就用刑具拷打定案。于是听到有逮捕人的消息都逃跑隐藏起来。案件拖得久的甚至经过几次赦免，十多年后还会被控告，大多数都诬陷为大逆不道以上的罪名。廷尉以及中都官奉诏办案逮捕的人多达六七万，属官增加的又有十多万人。

杜周中途被免职，后来当了执金吾，追捕盗贼，逮捕查办桑弘羊、卫皇后兄弟的儿子，严苛酷烈，天子认为他尽职无私，提升他任御史大夫。他家有两个儿子，分别在黄河两岸担任太守。他们处理政事残暴酷烈都比王温舒等人更厉害。杜周刚被征召任廷史时，只有一匹马，而且配备不齐全；到了他长久作官，官做到位列三公，子孙都当了高官，家里的钱财累积有好几万了。

太史公说：从郅都到杜周十人，这些人都以治政严酷暴烈而闻名。可是郅都刚直，能援引大是大非，来争辩国家重要的事情。张汤因为懂得看皇上脸色，皇上和他上下配合，当时多次辩



charges brought against them were beaten until they confessed. So all who heard that they might be arrested immediately went into hiding, sometimes for ten years, even though several amnesties were meanwhile pronounced. Most of the indictments were for immoral conduct or more serious crimes. Those arrested and imprisoned by imperial decree numbered sixty or seventy thousand, those arrested and imprisoned by the officials more than a hundred thousand.

Later Du Zhou was dismissed from the post of chief justice and appointed as military tribune of the capital. He arrested and dealt with brigands and investigated the cases of Sang Hongyang and the brothers of Empress Wei. He was severe in his judgements and the emperor, impressed by his energy and impartiality, raised him to the position of grand secretary. His two sons served as provincial governors on both sides of the Yellow River and proved even harsher and more tyrannical than Wang Wenshu and the rest.

When Du Zhou was first appointed as a secretary under the chief justice, he owned only one horse, and that not fully equipped. After holding office for many years, however, he rose to be one of the three chief ministers, all his sons and grandsons had become high officials and his family estate was worth millions of cash.

The Grand Historian comments: These ten men from Zhi Du to Du Zhou were all known for their harshness. Zhi Du was honest and upright, guided by principles in dealing with important questions. Zhang Tang was always well informed and he and the emperor thought alike;



### 【原文】

数辩当否，国家赖其便。赵禹时据法守正。杜周从谀，以少言为重。自张汤死后，网密，多诋严，官事浸以耗废。九卿碌碌奉其官，救过不赡，何暇论绳墨之外乎？然此十人中，其廉者足以为仪表，其污者足以为戒，方略教导，禁奸止邪，一切亦皆彬彬质有其文武焉。虽惨酷，斯称其位矣。至若蜀守冯当暴挫，广汉李贞擅磔人，东郡弥仆锯项，天水骆璧推咸，河东褚广妄杀，京兆无忌、冯翊殷周蝮鸷，水衡阎奉朴击卖请，何足数哉！何足数哉！

### 【今译】

论国家大事的得失，国家靠他而获益。赵禹时常依据法律坚守正义。杜周从恶而阿谀，以少说话为重。从张汤死后，法网严密，办案大多诋毁严酷，政事逐渐昏乱败坏。九卿庸庸碌碌地履行自己的职守，补救过错尚且不及，哪有时间研究法律以外的事情呢？但这十人中，那些廉洁的足可以作为人们的表率，那些污浊的足可以作为人们的鉴戒，出谋划策教导人民，禁奸止邪，一切作为也都斯文有礼恩威并施。执法虽然严酷，但这符合他们的官职。至于像蜀郡太守冯当凶暴摧残人，广汉郡李贞擅自肢解人，东郡弥仆锯断人的脖子，天水骆璧逼供定案，河东褚广胡乱杀人，京兆无忌、冯翊殷周狠如蛇鹰，水衡都尉阎奉拷打犯人逼人出钱请托，哪值得去说呢！哪值得去说呢！



many of his proposals were of benefit to the state. Zhao Yu usually upheld justice and abided by the law. Du Zhou was eager to please the emperor and tried to win favour by speaking as little as possible. After Zhang Tang's death the law became more involved and punishments more severe, so that the regular government work was gradually neglected. High ministers gave all their efforts to keeping their posts and tried so hard to avoid mistakes that they had no time to do more than obey the law.

The virtues of these ten men can be taken as models, their defects as a warning. Their measures and instructions were designed to curb evil and, taken in the aggregate, were of significance as regards both their civil and military aspects. Although cruel and harsh, these men did what their duty prescribed.

But when it comes to officials like Feng Dang, the governor of Shu, who savagely oppressed people; Li Zhen, the governor of Guanghan, who made mincemeat of men; Mi Pu, the governor of Dongjun, who sawed off people's heads; Luo Bi, the governor of Tianshui, who tortured people until they confessed; Chu Guang, the governor of Hedong, who killed men wantonly; Wuji, the prefect of the capital, and Yin Zhou of Fengyi who were as ruthless as vipers and vultures; and Yan Feng the privy treasurer who beat up men to extort money from them — their careers are not worth recording.

## 游侠列传

### 【原文】

韩子曰：“儒以文乱法，而侠以武犯禁。”二者皆讥，而学士多称于世云。至如以术取宰相卿大夫，辅翼其世主，功名俱著于春秋，固无可言者。及若季次、原宪，闾巷人也，读书怀独行君子之德，义不苟合当世，当世亦笑之。故季次、原宪终身空室蓬户，褐衣疏食不厌。死而已四百余年，而弟子志之不倦。今游侠，其行虽不轨于正义，然其言必信，其行必果，已诺必诚，不爱其躯，赴士之厄困，既已存亡死生矣，而不矜其能，羞伐其德，盖亦有足多者焉。

### 【今译】

韩非子说：“儒家用文章扰乱法治，而游侠凭借武力触犯禁令。”两者都被讥讽，而儒生多被世人称赞。至于像用权术来谋取宰相卿大夫的职位，辅助他的君主，功名都被记载在史书中，本来没有可说的。至于季次、原宪，是平民百姓，读书怀有特异君子的品德，行为不和当代同流合污，当代人也嘲笑他们。所以季次、原宪一生住在徒有四壁的草屋中，连粗衣淡饭都不足。死了四百多年了，而他们的弟子却不知疲倦地怀念他们。如今的游侠，他们的行为虽然不依循于正当的道理，但他们言必信，行必果，已经答应的一定诚心去做，不惜自己的身躯，去救助别人的困急，既已出生入死，却不夸耀自己的才能，羞于炫示自己的功德，大概也有足以让人称赞的吧。



## The Gallant Citizens

Han Fei Zi has said, "Confucian scholars with their writings confuse the law, gallant citizens with their weapons infringe the rules." But although Han Fei Zi ridicules both, Confucian scholars often win praise in the world.

We need not speak of those who through their arts rise to become prime ministers or high officials assisting their sovereigns, those whose feats and fame are recorded in the annals of the state. But men like Ji Ci and Yuan Xian were ordinary citizens engaged in studying the classics, who held aloof from the world and practised the virtues of a gentleman. Too upright to pander to the age, they were laughed at in their day. They lived all their lives in bare rooms with matting doors, content with coarse garments and the simplest fare. Now more than four hundred years have passed since their death, yet their disciples still commemorate them.

As for the gallant citizens, although they do not always do what is right, their word can be trusted. They keep all their promises, honour all their pledges, and hasten to rescue those in distress regardless of their own safety. They risk their lives without boasting, not stooping to speak of their good deeds. So there is much to be said for them, especially as anyone may find himself in trouble sooner or later!



## 【原文】

且缓急，人之所时有也。太史公曰：昔者虞舜窘于井廪，伊尹负于鼎俎，傅说匿于傅险，吕尚困于棘津，夷吾桎梏，百里饭牛，仲尼畏匡，菜色陈、蔡。此皆学士所谓有道仁人也，犹然遭此灾，况以中材而涉乱世之末流乎？其遇害何可胜道哉！

鄙人有言曰：“何知仁义，已飨其利者为有德。”故伯夷丑周，饿死首阳山，而文、武不以其故贬王；跖、蹻暴戾，其徒诵义无穷。由此观之，“窃钩者诛，窃国者侯，侯之门仁义存”，非虚言也。

今拘学或抱咫尺之义，久孤于世，岂若卑论侪俗，与世沈浮而

## 【今译】

况且危急的事，是人们常会遇到的。太史公说：从前虞舜在淘井和修粮仓时遇到危急，伊尹背着鼎俎当厨师，傅说藏身在傅险当苦力，吕尚在棘津遭困厄，管夷吾被戴脚镣手铐，百里奚喂牛，孔仲尼在匡地被困，在陈、蔡两国饿得面有菜色。这些都是儒生所说的有道德的仁人，尚且还遭到这样的灾难，何况依靠中等才能而经历乱世的普通人呢？他们遭遇的灾难怎么可以说得完呢！

乡下人有俗话说：“什么叫懂得仁义，已经享受其利益的就是有道德。”所以伯夷以吃周粟为可耻，饿死在首阳山，可文王、武王不因为这个原因而有损王者的声誉；盗跖、庄蹻凶暴乖戾，而他们的信徒却不断称赞他们的义气。由此看来，“偷衣带钩的被杀头，偷国家的被封侯，受封侯的人家自有仁义”，不是假话。

现在拘泥所学的人有的抱着狭隘的道理，长久地孤立于世俗以外，哪比得上降低论调与俗等同，和世人共沉浮而取得荣耀名



The Grand Historian comments: In days gone by, Emperor Shun was trapped in a well and caught in a granary; Yi Yin toiled as a scullion; Fu Yue worked as a convict at Fuxian; Lü Shang sold food at Jijin; Guan Zhong was shackled; Baili Xi herded cattle; Confucius was threatened by the men of Kuang and grew pale from hunger in Chen and Cai. If such hardships befell these men so esteemed by scholars for their moral character, there must be no end to the sufferings of men of lesser stature who live in decadent and troubled times.

The common people say, "Don't talk about humanity and justice. Whoever does you a good turn is a good man." So although Bo Yi so hated the Zhou Dynasty that he starved to death on Shouyang Mountain, people thought none the worse of King Wen and King Wu. Although Zhi and Jiao were cruel brigand chiefs, their followers extolled their merits. This illustrates the truth of the saying, "The man who steals a knife is killed but the man who steals a kingdom is ennobled, and virtue and justice are on the side of the nobles."

Scrupulous, punctilious scholars isolate themselves from the world, when they could win glory and fame by lowering themselves to the

### 【原文】

取荣名哉!而布衣之徒，设取予然诺，千里诵义，为死不顾世，此亦有所长，非苟而已也。故士穷窘而得委命，此岂非人之所谓贤豪间者邪？诚使乡曲之侠，予季次、原宪比权量力，效功于当世，不同日而论矣。要以功见言信，侠客之义又曷可少哉！

古布衣之侠，靡得而闻已。近代延陵、孟尝、春申、平原、信陵之徒，皆因王者亲属，藉于有土卿之富厚，招天下贤者，显名诸侯，不可谓不贤者矣。比如顺风而呼，声非加疾，其势激也。至如闾巷之侠，修行砥名，声施于天下，莫不称贤，是为难耳。然儒、墨皆排摈不载。自秦以前，匹夫之侠，湮灭不见，余甚恨之。以余所闻，汉兴有朱家、田仲、王公、剧孟、郭解之徒，虽时捍当世之

### 【今译】

声啊！而平民百姓，作取舍承诺，千里传诵正义，冒死而不留恋人世，这也有长于人的地方，不是随便就行的。因此士人在困窘的时候能托命给他们，这难道不是人们所说的贤人和豪侠之间的人物吗？假如让民间的游侠，与季次、原宪比较权势大小能力高下，比较对当世的贡献，那就不能同日而语了。总之要以功效表现说话守信，侠客的仁义怎么可以缺少呢！

古代平民中的侠客，不能够听到了。近代延陵、孟尝君、春申君、平原君、信陵君等人，都因为是君王的亲属，依靠着有封地和身为卿相的富足，招揽天下贤人，在诸侯中显扬名声，不能说不是贤才。好比顺风呼喊，声音本身没有加快，那是风势使之加速。至于居民区中的侠客，修养行为磨炼名节，名声遍及天下，没有不称赞他们贤能的，这是难以做到的。可是儒家、墨家都对他们排斥摈弃不加记载。从秦代往前，平民侠客，湮没无闻，我很遗憾。依据我所听到的，汉朝兴起以来有朱家、田仲、



level of the vulgar and pandering to the fashions of the time. But when common citizens pledge themselves to a just cause and will travel a thousand *li* to die for it, not caring what the world thinks, this has its merits too. Such men have not lived for nothing. That is why people who are hard pressed entrust their fate to them, for these are worthy and outstanding men. Indeed, if we compare the power and influence of these gallant citizens with Ji Ci and Yuan Xian's, they render society a much greater service. The main thing is that they do all they promise, proving as good as their word. How can the world belittle such men?

The names of gallant citizens of ancient times are lost. In recent ages there have been men like Lord Yan Ling, Lord Mengchang, Lord Chunshen, Lord Pingyuan and Lord Xinling, all related to royal houses or high ministers with rich fiefs, who used their wealth to gather men of talent from all parts of the empire to spread their fame through the states. These were certainly worthy men, but their winning themselves fame was like calling down the wind: even if the sound itself was not loud, the wind carried it a long way.

It was much more difficult for the common citizens to practise virtue till their fame spread everywhere and their praise was on all lips. These men were brushed aside, moreover, by both Confucians and Mohists, who scorned to record their actions. That is why these gallant citizens who lived before the Qin Dynasty are lost in oblivion — much to my regret.

From what I have heard, men like Zhu Jia, Tian Zhong, Wang Meng, Ju Meng and Guo Xie at the beginning of the Han Dynasty



### 【原文】

文罔，然其私义廉洁退让，有足称者。名不虚立，士不虚附。至如朋党宗强比周，设财役贫，豪暴侵凌孤弱，恣欲自快，游侠亦丑之。余悲世俗不察其意，而猥以朱家、郭解等令与豪暴之徒同类而共笑之也。

鲁朱家者，与高祖同时。鲁人皆以儒教，而朱家用侠闻。所藏活豪士以百数，其余庸人不可胜言。然终不伐其能，歆其德。诸所尝施，唯恐见之。振人不赡，先从贫贱始。家无余财，衣不完采，食不重味，乘不过駟牛。专趋人之急，甚己之私。既阴脱季布将军之

### 【今译】

王公、剧孟、郭解等人，虽然时常触犯当朝的法网，但他们个人的行为符合道义廉洁谦让，有值得称扬的。名声不凭空而树立，士人不会凭空去附和。至于结成帮派的豪强互相勾结，用钱财来役使贫苦人，藉豪强暴力来欺凌孤单势弱的人，随心所欲来满足自己，游侠也认为这是可耻的。我哀伤世俗之人不明白其中真意，却错误地把朱家、郭解等人和强暴的人视为同类而一同加以耻笑。

鲁地的朱家，和高祖同时代。鲁人都以儒家学说进行教育，可朱家因为行侠闻名。他隐藏和救活的豪杰人士数以百计，其余普通人多得说不完。但始终不炫耀他的本领、为他的恩德沾沾自喜。对他曾给予过恩惠的人，惟恐再见到他们。救济不富足的人，先从贫贱人家开始。家里没有剩余的钱财，衣服没有多种颜色，吃饭没有两样以上的荤菜，乘坐的不过是小牛车。专门去救助别人的危急，超过为自己办事。暗中使季布将军摆脱困境后，



were admirably honest, scrupulous and modest in their private lives although they often broke the law of their time. Their fame was well deserved and it was not for nothing that others sought their protection.

As for those gangs and powerful families who band together and use their wealth to enslave the poor and bully the weak and helpless, with no thought of anything but their own pleasure, such men are also despised by the gallant citizens. I consider it a pity that no distinction is generally made between the two, and that men class Zhu Jia and Guo Xie with those local bullies and sneer at both groups.

Zhu Jia of Lu lived during the region of Emperor Gaozu, but while most men of Lu observe the teachings of Confucius Zhu Jia made a name as a gallant man. He protected and saved several hundred eminent men, to say nothing of ordinary people. Yet he never boasted of his ability or made much of his kindness. He tried, indeed, to avoid those whom he had helped. In aiding those in distress he started with the poor and humble. There was no spare money in his home, his clothes were shabby and faded, he ate no more than one dish at each meal and travelled in a small ox-cart. He secretly aided General Ji Bu when he was in trouble, but after Ji Bu became a great

**【原文】**

厄，及布尊贵，终身不见也。自关以东，莫不延颈愿交焉。

楚田仲以侠闻，喜剑，父事朱家，自以为行弗及。田仲已死，而洛阳有剧孟。周人以商贾为资，而剧孟以任侠显诸侯。吴、楚反时，条侯为太尉，乘传车，将至河南，得剧孟，喜曰：“吴、楚举大事而不求孟，吾知其无能为已矣。”天下骚动，宰相得之若得一敌国云。剧孟行大类朱家，而好博，多少年之戏。然剧孟母死，自远方送丧盖千乘。及剧孟死，家无余十金之财。而符离人王孟亦以侠称江、淮之间。

是时济南瞷氏、陈周庸亦以豪闻，景帝闻之，使使尽诛此属。其后代诸白、梁韩无辟、阳翟薛兄、陕韩孺纷纷复出焉。

**【今译】**

待到季布尊贵，终身不见季布。从函谷关以来，没有人不伸长脖子希望和他结交。

楚地的田仲由于行侠仗义而闻名，喜欢剑术，像服侍父亲一样服侍朱家，自认为行为比不上朱家。田仲死后，洛阳有个剧孟。周地人以做买卖为生活的资本，而剧孟凭借行侠在诸侯中显扬名声。吴、楚反叛时，条侯任太尉，乘坐驿站快车快到河南时，找到了剧孟，高兴地说：“吴、楚起兵而不找剧孟，我知道他们没有能力做什么了。”天下动乱，宰相得到他就像是得到一个对等的国家一样。剧孟行为大体像朱家，而喜欢玩六博，多为少年的游戏。可是剧孟的母亲去世，从远方来送丧的大概有上千辆车。到剧孟去世，家里没有剩下十金的钱财。而符离人王孟这时也因为行侠在江、淮一带受到称颂。

这时济南的瞷氏、陈地的周庸也因为豪侠而闻名，景帝听说后，派使者把这些人全杀死了。那以后，代郡的白氏各族、梁地的韩无辟、阳翟的薛兄、陕地的韩孺，纷纷又出现了。

nobleman Zhu Jia never went to see him. All who lived east of the Hangu Pass craned their necks in their eagerness to get to know him.

Tian Zhong of Chu, who made a name as a gallant man and loved swordsmanship, looked up to Zhu Jia as to his father and regarded himself as much inferior.

After Tian Zhong's death there was Ju Meng of Luoyang. Most of the men of Zhou were traders, but Ju Meng won fame among the feudal lords by his gallant deeds of daring. When the princes of Wu and Chu rebelled, Zhou Yafu the marquis of Tiao was made the grand marshal. As he was approaching Henan by relay carriages he was delighted to meet Ju Meng and said, "The princes of Wu and Chu have raised a rebellion without seeking out Ju Meng. Now I know they will not accomplish anything." For in those unsettled times a prime minister considered Ju Meng's help as equivalent to the conquest of an enemy state. Ju Meng behaved like Zhu Jia, except that he was fond of gambling and other young men's amusements. When his mother died, about a thousand carriages came from distant parts to the funeral. When Ju Meng himself died, his family was left without so much as ten pieces of gold.

Wang Meng of Fuli was also famed as a gallant citizen between the Yangtse and the Huai Rivers. Men of the Jian family of Jinan and Zhou Yong of Chen were also known at that time for their gallant deeds. When Emperor Jing learned of this, he sent and had them killed. They were followed later by others like the Bai family in Dai, Han Wubi of Liang, Xue Kuang of Yangdi and Han Ru of Shan.

**【原文】**

郭解，轵人也，字翁伯，善相人者许负外孙也。解父以任侠，孝文时诛死。解为人短小精悍，不饮酒。少时阴贼，慨不快意，身所杀甚众。以躯借交报仇，藏命作奸剽攻，休乃铸钱掘冢，固不可胜数。适有天幸，窘急常得脱，若遇赦。及解年长，更折节为俭，以德报怨，厚施而薄望。然其自喜为侠益甚。既已振人之命，不矜其功，其阴贼著于心，卒发于睚眦如故云。而少年慕其行，亦辄为报仇，不使知也。解姊子负解之势，与人饮，使之嚼。非其任，强必灌之。人怒，拔刀刺杀解姊子，亡去。解姊怒曰：“以翁伯之

**【今译】**

郭解，是轵县人，字翁伯，是擅长给人相面的许负的外孙。郭解的父亲因为行侠，在孝文帝时被诛杀。郭解为人短小精悍，不喝酒。小时候阴狠毒辣，心中愤怒不高兴时，亲手杀死的人很多。拿自己生命给朋友报仇，藏匿逃犯违法抢劫，没事就私自铸钱盗墓，类似之事真是不可胜数。却遇到上天保佑，在危急中常常能摆脱出来，像是遇到了赦免。到郭解年纪大后，改变操行为人检点，以德报怨，施给别人多寄期望于别人的少。但他自己喜欢行侠更加厉害。已经救了别人性命，不炫夸自己的功劳，而他的内心仍然狠毒，突然由于小事而发作行凶还和以前一样。而少年人仰慕他的行为，也常常为他报仇，不让他知道。郭解姐姐的儿子仗郭解的威势，和人饮酒，让人干杯。人家不胜酒量，他就强迫一定要灌人家。那人生气，拔出刀来刺杀了郭解姐姐的儿子，就逃跑了。郭解姐姐生气地说：“凭着翁伯的义气，人家杀了



Guo Xie of Zhi, whose courtesy name was Wengbo, was the grandson on his mother's side of the successful physiognomist Xu Fu. His father was executed for his daring deeds in the reign of Emperor Wen.

Guo Xie was short but agile and intrepid. He never drank wine. In his youth he was sullen and vindictive. He killed many men when his anger was aroused but would risk his life to avenge friends. He sheltered outlaws, conspired against the authorities, was always going in for armed robbery, and was guilty time and again of counterfeiting money and robbing tombs. As luck would have it, however, he always contrived to extricate himself from trouble or to be pardoned by an amnesty.

As Guo Xie grew older he became more humble and repaid evil with kindness, giving much and asking little in return. He grew fonder than ever of noble deeds of daring. But although he no longer boasted of the lives he had saved, he remained vindictive and prone to sudden bursts of anger over trivial humiliations. The young men who admired him would often avenge his wrongs without his knowledge.

Guo Xie's elder sister had a son who took advantage of his uncle's influence. One day while drinking, this lad insisted that his companion should drain his cup, and although the other declared himself unable to do so he forced the wine down his throat. In a fury the man drew his dagger and stabbed the boy to death, after which he fled.

Guo Xie's sister flew into a passion. "Who says my brother is an honourable man?" she exclaimed. "He lets my son's murderer go free!"



## 【原文】

义，人杀吾子，贼不得。”弃其尸于道，弗葬，欲以辱解。解使人微知贼处。贼窘自归，具以实告解。解曰：“公杀之固当，吾儿不直。”遂去其贼，罪其姊子，乃收而葬之。诸公闻之，皆多解之义，益附焉。

解出入，人皆避之。有一人独箕踞视之，解遣人问其名姓。客欲杀之。解曰：“居邑屋至不见敬，是吾德不修也，彼何罪！”乃阴属尉史曰：“是人，吾所急也，至践更时脱之。”每至践更，数过，吏弗求。怪之，问其故，乃解使脱之。箕踞者乃肉袒谢罪。少年闻之，愈益慕解之行。

## 【今译】

我儿子，却捉不到凶手。”把尸体扔到路上，不埋葬，想藉此来羞辱郭解。郭解派人暗中打听到凶手的去处。凶手没办法自己回来了，把实情全部告诉郭解。郭解说：“你杀他确实应该，我的孩子没有道理。”于是放走那凶手，把罪责归于他姐姐的儿子，就收尸埋葬了他。人们听说了这事，都称赞郭解的道义，更加依附于他。

郭解每次外出或归来，人们总躲避他。有一个人独自岔开双腿傲慢地坐着看郭解，郭解派人去问他的姓名。郭解的门客想杀死那人。郭解说：“在家乡居住竟然不被人尊敬，这是我的德行不好，他有什么罪！”于是暗中嘱咐尉史说：“这个人，是我急需的，轮到他值更服役时免了他。”每到值更服役，多次轮到这个人，县吏都没有要求他去。这人觉得奇怪，问县吏原因，才知是郭解让他免除解脱的。这个原来岔开双腿傲慢地坐着的人就袒衣露体来谢罪。少年人听到这事，更加仰慕郭解的行为。



She left the corpse unburied on the road in order to shame her brother.

Guo Xie sent men to find out the whereabouts of the murderer. And the latter, knowing that he could not escape, came to Guo Xie of his own accord and told him what had happened.

"You were right to kill him," said Guo Xie. "The boy was in the wrong." So he let the man go, declaring that his nephew was to blame, and gave the dead body burial. When this became known, men were so impressed by his sense of justice that more admirers flocked to him.

Whenever Guo Xie went out, people usually kept out of his way. One day, however, a man squatted insolently by the roadside to stare at him, and Guo Xie sent to inquire this stranger's name. His followers wanted to kill the man but Guo Xie said, "If someone in my own district treats me rudely, it must mean that I am lacking in virtue. Why do you blame him?" And he secretly told the local officers, "I have a high regard for this man. When his turn comes for conscription, let him off."

So every time men were conscripted, this fellow was surprised to find that the officers passed him by. When he discovered to whom he owed his exemption, he went with bared shoulders to apologize to Guo Xie. And the young men, hearing of this, admired Guo more than ever.

## 【原文】

洛阳人有相仇者，邑中贤豪居间者以十数，终不听。客乃见郭解。解夜见仇家，仇家曲听解。解乃谓仇家曰：“吾闻洛阳诸公在此间，多不听者。今子幸而听解，解奈何乃从他县夺人邑中贤大夫权乎！”乃夜去，不使人知，曰：“且无用，待我去，令洛阳豪居其间，乃听之。”

解执恭敬，不敢乘车入其县廷。之旁郡国，为人请求事，事可出，出之；不可者，各厌其意，然后乃敢尝酒食。诸公以故严重之，争为用。邑中少年及旁近县贤豪，夜半过门，常十余车，请得解客舍养之。

及徙豪富茂陵也，解家贫不中訾。吏恐，不敢不徙。卫将军

## 【今译】

洛阳人有相互结仇的，城中贤能豪杰从中调解的人数以十计，他们始终不听。门客们就来拜见郭解。郭解连夜去见结仇的人家，仇家心存委屈而听从了郭解的劝告。郭解于是对结仇的人家说：“我听说洛阳很多人物在这里调解，你们大都不肯听从。如今你们幸而听从了我的话，我怎么能从别的县跑来夺取人家地方贤能大夫的权呢！”于是连夜离去，不让人知道，说：“暂且不要听我的话，等我离去后，让洛阳的豪杰从中调解，再听他们的。”

郭解为人恭敬，不敢坐车进入他们县衙门的庭院。到附近的郡国，替别人请托办事，事情可以解脱的，就解脱；不能的，使各方满意，然后才敢吃酒饭。大家因此十分尊敬他，争着为他效力。城中少年和附近县的贤人豪杰，半夜上门来拜访的常常有十多辆车，请求把郭解的门客带到自己的家中去供养。

到了迁徙富豪到茂陵去时，郭解家里贫穷，不符合迁徙的资财标准，官吏害怕，不敢不将他迁徙。卫将军为他说话：“郭解家



1165

Two men in Luoyang were carrying on a feud, and although a dozen or more of the chief citizens had tried to act as peacemakers they refused to be reconciled. When the matter was taken to Guo Xie he went by night to see the two enemies, and they brought themselves to accept his mediation.

"I hear that many citizens of Luoyang have interceded with you, yet you did not listen to them," said Guo Xie. "I am glad that you are willing to take my advice. But it is not right for a stranger from another district to outshine your own worthies and detract from their prestige." He left under cover of darkness so that no one might know of his visit. "Go ahead without me," he told the two men. "Once I have gone and the chief citizens of Luoyang come again to reason with you, do as they say."

Guo Xie was a stickler for etiquette and would never ride into the district court in his carriage. When he went to neighbouring districts at his friends' request, if he could solve their problems, well and good; if not, he made a point of satisfying them in different ways before tasting food and wine. Thus he was highly respected and many people were only too eager to serve him. Often ten or more carriages came to his gate in one night, bringing young men of his district or prominent citizens from neighbouring provinces who offered to take away some of his protégés and look after them.

When it was decided to move the wealthiest and most powerful citizens of the empire to Maoling, Guo Xie's family was not rich enough to be included, but the officer in charge dared not leave him out. Gen-



## 【原文】

为言：“郭解家贫不中徙。”上曰：“布衣权至使将军为言，此其家不贫。”解家遂徙。诸公送者出千余万。轵人杨季主子为县掾，举徙解。解兄子断杨掾头。由此，杨氏与郭氏为仇。

解入关，关中贤豪知与不知，闻其声，争交欢解。解为人短小，不饮酒，出未尝有骑。已又杀杨季主。杨季主家上书，人又杀之阙下。上闻，乃下吏捕解。解亡，置其母家室夏阳，身至临晋。临晋籍少公素不知解，解冒，因求出关。籍少公已出解，解转入太原，所过辄告主人家。吏逐之，迹至籍少公。少公自杀，口绝。久之，乃得解。穷治所犯，为解所杀，皆在赦前。轵有儒生侍使者

## 【今译】

里贫困不够迁徙标准。”皇上说：“平民有权势使得将军替他讲话，这是他家不穷。”郭解家于是被迁徙了。大家为郭解送行出资一千多万。轵县人杨季主的儿子任县掾，举报迁徙郭解。郭解哥哥的儿子砍掉了杨县掾的头。从此杨家和郭家结仇。

郭解迁徙进关，关中的贤人豪杰认识和不认识郭解的，听到他的名声，都争着和郭解结好。郭解为人矮小，不喝酒，出门从不骑马。后来又杀死了杨季主。杨季主的家人上书，有人又在宫门下把他杀死。皇上听说了，就下令官吏捉拿郭解。郭解逃走，把他母亲家安置在夏阳，自己来到临晋。临晋人籍少公本不认识郭解，郭解假冒他人，于是请求出关。籍少公把郭解送出关后，郭解辗转到了太原，他经过的地方常常把自己的情况告诉留他居住的主人家。官吏追捕他，跟踪查到籍少公。籍少公自杀，口供断绝了。过了很久，才抓到郭解。深入调查郭解所犯罪行，被郭解所杀的人，都在赦免令之前。轵县有位儒生陪同使者闲



eral Wei Qing spoke up for him, saying that he was a poor man and should not be moved. But the emperor retorted, "If a private citizen is influential enough to prevail on the grand marshal to speak for him, he cannot be very poor!" So his family was finally forced to move, and the people who saw him off presented him with more than ten million cash.

The district officer who had recommended Guo Xie's removal was the son of Yang Jizhu, a native of Zhi. His head was cut off by Guo Xie's nephew, and after that the two families were enemies.

The chief citizens west of the Hangu Pass, whether they knew Guo Xie or not, soon heard of his fame and vied with one another to befriend him.

Some time later, Yang Jizhu was murdered. His family wrote a memorial to the throne, but their messenger was killed outside the palace. When news of this came to the ears of Emperor Wu, he sent officers to arrest Guo Xie, who fled to Linjin, leaving his mother and family in Xiayang. Since Ji Shaogong, the officer at Linjin, did not know him and Guo Xie had assumed a false name, he was able to escape through the Pass and make his way east to Taiyuan. Because Guo Xie told his hosts each night where he was heading, the authorities were able to trace him as far as Ji Shaogong; but as the latter had committed suicide the trail was lost and it was some time before Guo Xie was captured.

During Guo Xie's trial, it was found that he had committed no murders since the last amnesty. A Confucian scholar from Zhi was sitting with the officers during the investigation. When one of Guo

**【原文】**

坐。客誉郭解，生曰：“郭解专以奸犯公法，何谓贤！”解客闻，杀此生，断其舌。吏以此责解，解实不知杀者。杀者亦竟绝，莫知为谁。吏奏解无罪。御史大夫公孙弘议曰：“解布衣为任侠行权，以睚眦杀人，解虽弗知，此罪甚于解杀之。当大逆无道。”遂族郭解翁伯。

自是之后，为侠者极众，敖而无足数者。然关中长安樊仲子、槐里赵王孙、长陵高公子，西河郭公仲，太原卤公孺，临淮兒长卿，东阳田君孺，虽为侠，而逡逡有退让君子之风。至若北道姚氏、西道诸杜、南道仇景、东道赵他、羽公子、南阳赵调之

**【今译】**

坐，有人称赞郭解，儒生说：“郭解专门用奸诈来触犯国法，怎么可以称贤人！”郭解门客听到了，杀了这个儒生，割断他的舌头。官吏拿这事责问郭解，郭解实在不知道谁是杀人的人。杀人的人也始终无影无踪，没有人知道是谁。官吏向皇帝上书说郭解没有罪。御史大夫公孙弘议论说：“郭解以平民身份行侠弄权，由于小事而发作杀人，郭解虽然不知道，这罪过比他自己杀人还严重。该判大逆无道罪。”于是就诛杀了郭解、翁伯全族。

从这以后，行侠的人特别多，但都傲慢而没有值得说的。但关中长安的樊仲子、槐里的赵王孙、长陵的高公子、西河的郭公仲、太原的卤公孺、临淮的兒长卿、东阳的田君孺，虽然行侠却恭敬谨慎有谦让的君子风范。至于像北道的姚氏，西道的几位杜氏，南道的仇景，东道的赵他、羽公子，南阳的赵调等人，这是



Xie's admirers praised him, this scholar said, "Guo Xie has done nothing but break the law and commit crimes. What good can there be in such a man?"

One of Guo's followers killed this scholar and cut out his tongue. The officers laid the blame for this on Guo Xie, although in fact he did not know the murderer, who was never found.

The officers reported that Guo Xie was not guilty of the charges against him. Gongsun Hong the chief counsellor protested, "Guo Xie is a common citizen who sets himself up as the arbiter of justice and kills men for the most trivial offences. The fact that he does not know the murderer makes the case more serious than if he had killed the scholar himself. He is guilty of high treason." So Guo Xie and his clan were put to death.

There have since been many gallant citizens, too arrogant in their behaviour to be worth mentioning. But there was Fan Zhongzi of Chang'an, Zhao Wangsun of Huaili, Gao Gongzi of Changling, Guo Gongzhong of Xihe, Lu Gongru of Taiyuan, Ni Changqing of Linhuai and Tian Junru of Dongyang. Although these men acted in a daring way, they were courteous and unassuming gentlemen.

The Yao family in the north, the Du family in the west, Qiu Jing in the south, Zao Tayu or Zhao Gongzi in the east, and Zhao Tiao in



### 【原文】

徒，此盗跖居民间者耳，曷足道哉！此乃乡者朱家之羞也。

太史公曰：吾视郭解，状貌不及中人，言语不足采者。然天下无贤与不肖，无与不知，皆慕其声，言侠者皆引以为名。谚曰：“人貌荣名，岂有既乎！”於戏，惜哉！

### 【今译】

处在民间的盗跖罢了，哪里值得说呢！这是从前朱家那样的人感到羞耻的。

太史公说：我看郭解，相貌比不上中等人，语言也没有可取之处。但天下不论是贤人和不贤的人，了解和不了解他的，都仰慕他的名声，自称为侠的人都引以为荣。俗话说：“人的相貌荣誉名声，难道有穷尽吗！”唉呀，可惜呀！



Nanyang were virtually brigands quite beneath our notice and utterly unfit to be compared with Zhu Jia of earlier times.

The Grand Historian comments: When I saw Guo Xie, his appearance was in no way striking, neither was his conversation memorable. Yet everybody in the empire, high or low, whether he knew him or not, admires him and cites him as an example of gallant daring. "Fame sheds lustre on beauty," says the proverb. "It is fame that endures." Alas, that he came to such an end!



## 【原文】

孔子曰：“六艺于治一也。《礼》以节人，《乐》以发和，《书》以道事，《诗》以达意，《易》以神化，《春秋》以义。”太史公曰：天道恢恢，岂不大哉？谈言微中，亦可以解纷。

淳于髡者，齐之赘婿也。长不满七尺。滑稽多辩，数使诸侯，未尝屈辱。齐威王之时喜隐，好为淫乐长夜之饮，沉湎不治，委政卿大夫。百官荒乱，诸侯并侵，国且危亡，在于旦暮，左右莫敢谏。淳于髡说之以隐曰：“国中有大鸟，止王之庭，三年

## 【今译】

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孔子说：“六经对于治理国家来说都一样有用。《礼》用来规范人的言行，《乐》用来启发人和睦融洽，《书》用来叙述古往的事迹，《诗》用来表达人的情意，《易》用来明辨万物的神奇变化，《春秋》用来阐明人间的道义。”太史公说：天地道义恢宏无边，难道不大吗？言谈委婉而能切中事理，也能排解纠纷。

淳于髡，是齐国的一个上门女婿。身高不到七尺，滑稽善辩，多次出使诸侯各国，不曾受过屈辱。齐威王在位时喜欢隐语，好荒淫无度地彻夜宴饮，沉溺酒中不治国事，把国事委托给公卿大夫。文武百官荒淫，诸侯各国都来侵犯，国家危亡，就在旦夕之间，身边的大臣没有人敢进谏。淳于髡便用隐语劝齐威王说：“国都中有一只大鸟，栖息在大王的庭院，三年不飞又不叫，

## The Jesters

Confucius said, "All Six Arts help to govern. The *Book of Rites* helps to regulate men, the *Book of Music* brings about harmony, the *Book of Documents* records incidents, the *Book of Songs* expresses emotions, the *Book of Change* reveals supernatural influence, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* shows what is right."

The Grand Historian comments: How infinitely great are the ways of Heaven! Even words spoken in jest may hit on the truth and serve to settle disputes.

Chunyu Kun was a man of Qi who lived with his wife's family. He was less than five feet tall. Thanks to his wit and ready tongue he was sent several times as an envoy to other states and was never worsted in argument.

King Wei of Qi liked riddles and was so given up to pleasure that he often spent the whole night drinking, neglecting the government in his carousals and entrusting affairs of state to his ministers. Disorder reigned in the government offices and the land was invaded by other states with the result that Qi was in imminent danger of destruction. Yet none of his followers dared to remonstrate.

Then Chunyu Kun asked him a riddle. "A great bird has alighted in our royal court, but for three years has neither spread its wings nor

## 【原文】

不蜚又不鸣，王知此鸟何也？”王曰：“此鸟不飞则已，一飞冲天；不鸣则已，一鸣惊人。”于是乃朝诸县令长七十二人，赏一人，诛一人，奋兵而出。诸侯振惊，皆还齐侵地。威行三十六年。语在《田完世家》中。

威王八年，楚大发兵加齐。齐王使淳于髡之赵请救兵，赍金百斤，车马十驷。淳于髡仰天大笑，冠缨索绝。王曰：“先生少之乎？”髡曰：“何敢！”王曰：“笑岂有说乎？”髡曰：“今者臣从东方来，见道傍有禳田者，操一豚蹄，酒一盂，祝曰：‘瓯窭满篝，汙邪满车，五谷蕃熟，穰穰满家。’臣见其所持者狭而所欲者奢，故笑之。”于是齐威王乃益赍黄金千溢，白璧十双，车马百

## 【今译】

大王知道这只鸟是怎么回事？”齐威王说：“这只鸟不飞则罢，一飞就直冲天际；不叫则罢，一叫就使人吃惊。”于是接见各县县令县长七十二人，奖赏一人，诛杀一人，又激励军队出兵迎敌。诸侯各国震惊，都把侵占的土地归还齐国。齐威王的声威持续了三十六年。这些话记载在《田完世家》中。

齐威王八年(公元前349年)，楚国大举发兵侵犯齐国。齐威王派淳于髡出使赵国请求救兵，让他带上礼品黄金百斤，驷马车十辆。淳于髡仰天大笑，把帽带子都笑断了。齐威王说：“先生认为礼物少吗？”淳于髡说：“哪里敢！”齐威王又说：“你这么笑难道有什么说法吗？”淳于髡说：“今天臣子我从东方来，看到路旁有祭祀田神的，拿着一只猪蹄，端着一杯酒，祈祷说：‘贫瘠旱地的收获能装满筐笼，低洼水田的庄稼装满车辆，五谷丰登，丰盛满家。’我看他拿的祭品少而想要的东西却多，所以笑他。”于是齐威王就把礼品增加到黄金一千镒、白璧十对、驷马车一百



cried out. Can you guess what bird this is?"

"The bird may not have flown yet," replied the king. "Once it does, it will soar to the sky. It may not have cried out yet, but once it does it will startle everyone."

Then he summoned his seventy-two magistrates to court, rewarded one, punished another, and led out his army. The other states were alarmed and returned to Qi the land they had overrun. King Wei ruled in state for thirty-six years, as has been related in the life of Tian Wan.

In the eighth year of King Wei,<sup>1</sup> Chu sent a great force against Qi. The king gave Chunyu Kun a hundred catties of gold and ten four-horse carriages, bidding him go to Zhao to ask for aid. Chunyu Kun threw back his head and laughed so hard that the cord of his hat snapped.

"Do you think it too little, sir?" demanded the king.

"How dare I!" was the reply.

"Then why are you laughing?"

"As I came here today from the east," answered Chunyu Kun, "I saw on the road a man praying for a good harvest and offering one pig's trotter and one cup of wine. 'May the crops from the highland fill whole crates!' he prayed. 'May the crops from the lowland fill whole crates! May grain harvested in abundance fill my house!' He offered so little but expected so much in return. That is why I laughed."

Then King Wei gave him one thousand *yi* of gold, ten pairs of

### 【原文】

驷。髡辞而行，至赵。赵王与之精兵十万，革车千乘。楚闻之，夜引兵而去。

威王大说，置酒后宫，召髡，赐之酒。问曰：“先生能饮几何而醉？”对曰：“臣饮一斗亦醉，一石亦醉。”威王曰：“先生饮一斗而醉，恶能饮一石哉？其说可得闻乎？”髡曰：“赐酒大王之前，执法在傍，御史在后，髡恐惧俯伏而饮，不过一斗径醉矣。若亲有严客，髡帣搆鞠跽，侍酒于前，时赐余沥，奉觞上寿，数起，饮不过二斗径醉矣。若朋友交游，久不相见，卒然相睹，欢然道故，私情相语，饮可五六斗径醉矣。若乃州闾之会，男女杂坐，行酒稽留，六博投壶，相引为曹，握手无罚，目眙不禁，前有墮珥，后有

### 【今译】

辆。淳于髡告辞起程，到了赵国。赵王给他精兵十万，战车一千辆。楚军听到这个消息，连夜率兵离去。

齐威王非常高兴，在后宫摆下酒宴，召见淳于髡，赏赐给他酒。齐威王问道：“先生能喝多少才醉？”淳于髡回答说：“我喝一斗也会醉，喝一石也会醉。”齐威王说：“先生喝一斗就会醉，怎么能喝一石呢？其中的道理可以让我听听吗？”淳于髡说：“在大王面前得到赐酒，执法官在旁边，御史在身后，我惊恐害怕伏地饮酒，不过一斗就醉了。如果双亲有贵客，我卷起衣袖曲身跪坐，在席前侍奉饮酒，客人不时赏给我残酒，我高举酒杯敬酒祝寿，多次起身，喝不到两斗就醉了。如果朋友交游，久不相见，突然相会，欢快地追述往事，相互倾谈私人情谊，可以喝上五六斗就醉了。至于乡里的聚会，男女杂坐，劝酒留连，玩六博赛投壶，呼朋唤友，男女握手不处罚，双目对视也没有禁忌，前面有坠落



white jade discs and a hundred four-horse carriages. Chunyu Kun left and made his way to Zhao, whose king provided him with a hundred thousand picked troops and a thousand war-chariots. Once the army of Chu knew this, it withdrew by night.

King Wei in high delight summoned Chunyu Kun to a feast in his inner palace and offered him wine.

"How much does it take to make you drunk?" he asked.

"Anything from one to ten measures."

"If one measure makes you drunk, how can you drink ten? Kindly explain!"

"When I am offered wine in Your Majesty's presence, with the law officer beside me and the censor behind, I bow and drink in fear and trembling and less than one measure makes me drunk," said Chunyu Kun. "When my family entertains respected guests and I kneel with rolled-up sleeves to offer wine, if they give me the dregs to drink their health and keep me jumping up all the time, less than two measures makes me drunk.

. "When I run into some friend or acquaintance whom I haven't seen for years and we gossip cheerfully over old times together, and are able to say just what we think, I can take five or six measures before getting drunk.

"In country fairs where both sexes sit together and the wine goes round and round, we play a game of checkers or cottabus, choosing our own partners, and there is no taboo on holding hands or looking into each other's eyes, while the women's earrings and hairpins drop

### 【原文】

遗簪，髡窃乐此，饮可八斗而醉二参。日暮酒阑，合尊促坐，男女同席，履舄交错，杯盘狼藉，堂上烛灭，主人留髡而送客，罗襦襟解，微闻芗泽，当此之时，髡心最欢，能饮一石。故曰‘酒极则乱，乐极则悲’。万事尽然。”言不可极，极之而衰。以讽谏焉。齐王曰：“善。”乃罢长夜之饮，以髡为诸侯主客。宗室置酒，髡尝在侧。

其后百余年，楚有优孟。

优孟，故楚之乐人也。长八尺。多辩，常以谈笑讽谏。楚庄王之时，有所爱马，衣以文绣，置之华屋之下，席以露床，啖以枣

### 【今译】

的耳环，后面有遗失的发簪，我内心喜欢这样，可以喝上八斗酒才有两三分醉。天晚酒残，把剩下的酒菜归并到一起人也靠坐在一起，男女同席，鞋子交错相混，杯盘狼藉，堂上火烛熄灭，主人留下我而送走了客人，丝织短上衣的衣襟解开，微微闻到香气，在这个时候，我心里最欢畅，能喝上一石。所以说：“酒极生乱，乐极生悲。”一切事物都是这样。”就是说做事不能做到极点，做到极点就会走向衰败。淳于髡用这些话委婉地劝谏齐威王。齐威王说：“好。”就停止了通宵达旦的宴饮，任命淳于髡为接待诸侯宾客的主客官员。皇家宗室举行酒宴，淳于髡常在旁作陪。

从这以后一百多年，楚国出了个优孟。

优孟，原来是楚国的歌舞艺人。身高八尺，善辩，常用谈笑的方式委婉地进行劝谏。楚庄王时，有一匹喜爱的马，给马穿上锦绣衣服，把它安置在华丽的房子里，用没有帷帐的床给它作卧



right and left. Why then, secretly rejoicing, I can drink eight measures and be barely one-third tipsy.

"At dusk towards the end of a feast we cuddle together mixing our drinks, men and women sharing one mat, shoes and slippers intermingled, cups and dishes everywhere. Then as the candles in the hall flicker out, the other guests are seen off but my hostess keeps me, and as her silk blouse parts I inhale her fragrance! In that instant there is such joy in my heart that I can drink ten measures. As the old saying goes, 'Too much wine leads to licence and too much joy to sorrow.' This is true of everything." This talk of the ill effects of all excess was a joking form of remonstrance.

"You are right," said the king and gave up his nightly drinking. He put Chunyu Kun in charge of entertaining envoys from other states, and the jester was invited to all feasts given by members of the royal clan.

More than a hundred years after this lived another jester of Chu named Meng who started life as a musician. Six feet tall, with a ready tongue, he often made the king see reason by means of jests.

King Zhuang of Chu had a favourite horse which he caparisoned in rich brocade, housed in magnificent quarters with a couch to sleep on and fed upon dried jujubes. When the horse grew too fat and died,

### 【原文】

脯。马病肥死，使群臣丧之，欲以棺椁大夫礼葬之。左右争之，以为不可。王下令曰：“有敢以马谏者，罪至死！”优孟闻之，入殿门，仰天大哭。王惊而问其故。优孟曰：“马者王之所爱也，以楚国堂堂之大，何求不得，而以大夫礼葬之，薄。请以人君礼葬之。”王曰：“何如？”对曰：“臣请以雕玉为棺，文梓为椁，楩、枫、豫、章为题凑，发甲卒为穿圹，老弱负土，齐、赵陪位于前，韩、魏翼卫其后，庙食太牢，奉以万户之邑。诸侯闻之，皆知大王贱人而贵马也。”王曰：“寡人之过一至此乎？为之奈何？”优孟曰：“请为大王六畜葬之。以垅灶为椁，铜历为棺，赍以姜

### 【今译】

席，拿枣脯喂它。马因为肥胖病死亡，让大臣们为马治丧，准备用棺椁盛殓按大夫的葬礼来安葬它。身边的大臣劝谏他，认为不能这样做。庄王下令说：“有胆敢为葬马的事来进谏的，罪当处死。”优孟听说了这件事，走进殿门，仰天大哭。庄王吃惊而问他哭的原因。优孟说：“马是大王所爱的，凭着堂堂的大楚国，有什么要求办不到，却用大夫的葬礼来安葬它，薄待它了，请按君王的葬礼来安葬它。”庄王说：“那怎么办呢？”优孟回答说：“我请求用雕花的美玉做棺材，有花纹的梓木做外椁，拿楩、枫、豫、樟等贵重木材做护棺的题凑，派遣士兵挖掘墓穴，老人和孩子背土筑坟，齐国、赵国在前面陪祭，韩国、魏国在后面护卫，建立祠庙用猪牛羊各一头的太牢礼来祭祀，拨一个万户的城邑来供奉。诸侯各国听说这事，都知道大王把人看得很低贱而把马看得很贵重了。”庄王说：“我的过失竟然到了这种地步吗？那该怎么办呢？”优孟说：“请让我替大王用对待六畜的方法来埋葬它。用土灶做外椁，用铜锅作棺材，拿姜枣调味，再加进木兰，用稻



the king ordered his ministers to mourn for it and decided to have it buried in a double coffin with all the rites befitting a high official. So many of his courtiers advised against this that the king decreed, "The next man to remonstrate on the subject of the horse will be put to death."

When word of this reached Meng, he went to the palace and raising his eyes to heaven wept bitterly. The king in astonishment asked him the reason.

"That horse was Your Majesty's favourite," said Meng. "A great state like Chu can surely meet all your wishes. Burial with the rites befitting a high official is too shabby. Why don't you bury it with royal rites?"

"What do you mean?" asked King Zhuang.

"I suggest that the coffin be carved of jade and the outer coffin made of the finest catalpa ornamented with cedar, camphor and other precious wood. Send men at arms to build the tomb while the old and weak carry earth; and let envoys from Qi and Zhao lead the funeral cortège with envoys of Han (403B.C.-230B.C.) and Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) following behind. Build a temple, sacrifice oxen, and put ten thousand households in charge of the upkeep of the mausoleum. Then the other states, hearing of this, will know that Your Majesty thinks little of men but very highly of horses."

"How wrong I have been!" exclaimed the king. "What can I do to remedy matters?"

"Why not bury it like other livestock?" suggested Meng. "Use the hearth and a bronze cauldron as its double coffin, adding ginger, jujubes and spices. Offer a sacrifice of rice, enfold it in flames and bury



## 【原文】

枣，荐以木兰，祭以粮稻，衣以火光，葬之于人腹肠。”于是王乃使以令属太官，无令天下久闻也。

楚相孙叔敖知其贤人也，善待之。病且死，属其子曰：“我死，汝必贫困。若往见优孟，言‘我孙叔敖之子’也。”居数年，其子穷困负薪，逢优孟，与言曰：“我，孙叔敖之子也。父且死时，属我贫困往见优孟。”优孟曰：“若无远有所之。”即为孙叔敖衣冠，抵掌谈语。岁余，像孙叔敖，楚王及左右不能别也。庄王置酒，优孟前为寿。庄王大惊，以为孙叔敖复生也，欲以为相。优孟曰：“请归与妇计之，三日而为相。”庄王许之。三日后，优孟复来。王曰：“妇言谓何？”孟曰：“妇言慎无为，楚相不足为也。

## 【今译】

米作祭品，用火光作衣服，把它埋葬在人的肚肠里。”于是庄王就派人把马交给主管膳食的太官，不要让天下人长久地传扬这事。

楚国的国相孙叔敖知道优孟是贤人，对他很好。孙叔敖病重将死，嘱咐他的儿子说：“我死了，你一定会贫困。你前去拜见优孟，说‘我是孙叔敖的儿子’。”过了几年，孙叔敖的儿子贫困得靠背柴度日，碰见了优孟，对他说：“我是孙叔敖的儿子。父亲快要去世时，嘱咐我贫困时去拜见优孟。”优孟说：“你不要到远处去。”随即优孟穿戴上类似孙叔敖的衣服帽子，模仿孙叔敖的言谈举止。一年多后，活像孙叔敖，楚王和他左右的大臣都不能分辨出来。庄王举行酒宴，优孟上前敬酒祝寿。庄王非常惊讶，认为孙叔敖复活了，想任命他为国相。优孟说：“请允许我回去和妻子商量一下这件事，三天以后再来就任国相。”庄王同意了。三天后，优孟又来了。庄王说：“你妻子怎么说？”优孟说：“我妻



it in men's bellies!"

Then the king gave the horse to his cook and had the matter hushed up.

Sunshu Ao, prime minister of Chu, knew Meng's ability and respected him. When he lay dying he told his son, "After my death you will be poor. But go to Meng and tell him you are my son."

A few years later, when the young man was reduced by poverty to carrying firewood, he met Meng and said to him, "I am Sunshu Ao's son. My father told me on his deathbed to come to you if ever I was in difficulties."

"Stay in this neighbourhood," was Meng's advice. He practised wearing Sunshu Ao's clothes and imitating his talk and behaviour. In a year or so, the resemblance was so close that neither the king nor his courtiers would be able to tell the difference. One day then, when the king was giving a feast, Meng entered to offer a toast. The king was amazed, imagining that this was Sunshu Ao returned to life. He wanted to appoint him as prime minister, but Meng said, "Let me go and talk it over with my wife. I shall give you my answer three days from now." To this the king agreed.

Three days later Meng came back.

"Well, what does your wife say?" asked the king.

"My wife advises me not to accept. It is no good being prime



## 【原文】

如孙叔敖之为楚相，尽忠为廉以治楚，楚王得以霸。今死，其子无立锥之地，贫困负薪以自饮食。必如孙叔敖，不如自杀。”因歌曰：“山居耕田苦，难以得食。起而为吏，身贪鄙者余财，不顾耻辱。身死家室富，又恐受赇枉法，为奸触大罪，身死而家灭。贪吏安可为也！念为廉吏，奉法守职，竟死不敢为非。廉吏安可为也！楚相孙叔敖持廉至死，方今妻子穷困负薪而食，不足为也！”于是庄王谢优孟，乃召孙叔敖子，封之寝丘四百户，以奉其祀。后十世不绝。此知可以言时矣。

其后二百余年，秦有优旃。

## 【今译】

子说千万不要做，楚国的国相不值得去做。像孙叔敖做楚国的国相，尽忠廉洁来治理楚国，楚王得以称霸。如今死了，他的儿子无立锥之地，贫困得靠背柴来维持自己的饮食。一定要像孙叔敖那样，不如自杀。”接着又唱道：“住在山野耕田受苦，难以得到食物。奋起做官，自身贪婪卑鄙的积有钱财，不顾羞耻。自己死后家庭富裕，又害怕受贿枉法，为非作歹犯大罪，自身处死家室遭诛灭。贪官怎么可以做呢！想做清官，奉公守法尽忠尽职，到死不敢做违法的事。清官哪里能做呢！楚国国相孙叔敖保持廉洁直至去世，现在妻儿穷困得靠背柴糊口，不值得做啊！”于是庄王向优孟谢罪，就召见了孙叔敖的儿子，把寝丘四百户封给他，用来供奉祭祀孙叔敖。后来传了十代都不断。优孟这种智慧可以说是说话能抓住机会了。

那以后两百多年，秦国出了个优旃。



minister of Chu, she says. Just look at Sunshu Ao! He worked loyally and honestly to make Chu a powerful state, yet now that he is dead his son is so poor that he owns not an inch of land. He is reduced to carrying firewood for a living. Suicide is preferable to such a fate."

Then he chanted:

It is rough work farming the hills,  
Hard to get food.  
One who becomes an official may grasp at wealth,  
And, dead to shame, leave his family well-off;  
Or for taking bribes and breaking the law  
He may be put to death and his clan wiped out.  
Do not be a rapacious official!  
What then of a good official  
Who abides by the law, does his duty,  
And makes no wrong move all his life?  
His case is no better.  
For Sunshu Ao was honest to the end,  
But his wife and son are left destitute,  
Forced to subsist by carrying firewood.  
Why follow his example?

Then King Zhuang, having thanked Meng, summoned Sunshu Ao's son and enfeoffed him with four hundred households in Qinqiu, so that he might sacrifice to his ancestors. And his line continued for ten generations. This was surely a timely use of wit!

More than two hundred years later there was Zhan of the Qin Dynasty.



## 【原文】

优旃者，秦倡侏儒也。善为笑言，然合于大道。秦始皇时，置酒而天雨，陛楯者皆沾寒。优旃见而哀之，谓之曰：“汝欲休乎？”陛楯者皆曰：“幸甚。”优旃曰：“我即呼汝，汝疾应曰‘诺’。”居有顷，殿上上寿呼万岁。优旃临槛大呼曰：“陛楯郎！”郎曰：“诺！”优旃曰：“汝虽长，何益，幸雨立。我虽短也，幸休居。”于是始皇使陛楯者得半相代。

始皇尝议欲大苑囿，东至函谷关，西至雍、陈仓。优旃曰：“善。多纵禽兽于其中，寇从东方来，令麋鹿触之足矣。”始皇以故辍止。

二世立，又欲漆其城。优旃曰：“善。主上虽无言，臣固将请

## 【今译】

优旃，是秦国的侏儒艺人。善于说笑话，然而都符合大道理。秦始皇时，有次举行酒宴而天下雨，殿阶下持盾卫士们全都淋雨受寒。优旃看见了可怜他们，对他们说：“你们想休息吗？”殿阶下的持盾卫士们都说：“非常希望。”优旃说：“我如果喊你们，你们要赶快回答说‘诺’。”过了一会儿，朝臣向秦始皇祝寿高呼万岁。优旃靠近栏杆大声喊道：“殿阶下持盾的儿郎们！”儿郎们答：“诺！”优旃说：“你们虽然身材高大，但有什么益处，只有幸在雨中站立。我虽然矮小，却有幸在屋里休息。”于是秦始皇就让殿阶下的持盾卫士们分两半轮流替代。

秦始皇曾经计划要扩大畜养禽兽的苑林，向东扩至函谷关，向西扩至雍县、陈仓。优旃说：“好。多多在里面放养禽兽，敌寇从东方来，命令麋鹿用角去顶他们就够了。”秦始皇因此停下了。

秦二世即位，又想要油漆城墙。优旃说：“好。主上即使不



Zhan was a dwarf, who made jokes which contained profound truths. Once the First Emperor of Qin held a feast while it was raining, and the guards by the steps were all soaked and shivering with cold.

Zhan was sorry for them and asked, "Would you like a rest?"

"We certainly would!" they replied.

"All right. When I call you, answer quickly."

Then a toast was offered to the emperor, and during the cheering Zhan walked to the balustrade. He called down to the guards, who promptly responded.

"You may be tall, but what good does that do you?" he asked. "You have to stand in the rain. I may be short, but I can enjoy myself here." Upon that, the emperor ordered the guards to serve in two shifts.

When the First Emperor of Qin wanted to extend his imperial park to the Hangu Pass in the east and to Yong and Chencang in the west, Zhan commented, "A good idea! And fill it with animals. If invaders come from the east, the stags can gore them." Thereupon the emperor abandoned his plan.

When the Second Emperor came to the throne, he decided to lacquer the walls of his capital. "Splendid!" said Zhan. "If you had not

### 【原文】

之。漆城虽于百姓愁费，然佳哉！漆城荡荡，寇来不能上。即欲就之，易为漆耳，顾难为荫室。”于是二世笑之，以其故止。居无何，二世杀死，优旃归汉，数年而卒。

太史公曰：淳于髡仰天大笑，齐威王横行。优孟摇头而歌，负薪者以封。优旃临槛疾呼，陛楯得以半更。岂不亦伟哉！”

### 【今译】

说，我本来就要请求您这样做了。油漆城墙虽然给百姓带来愁苦耗费，但美啊！油了漆的城墙光溜溜的，敌寇来了爬不上来。就是要做成这事，油漆容易，只是建一个给漆过的城墙遮太阳的房子难。”于是秦二世笑了，因为这个原因停止了。过了不久，秦二世被杀死，优旃归顺汉朝，几年以后死去。

太史公说：淳于髡仰天大笑，齐威王因而横行天下。优孟摇头唱歌，背柴为生的人因此得到封地。优旃靠近栏杆高呼，殿阶下持盾卫士得以减半轮值。难道不也伟大吗！

ordered this, I should have proposed it. It may cost the people dear, but what a fine thing it will be! No invaders will be able to climb such smooth, handsome walls. And lacquering is easy, too. The only difficulty will be building a shelter large enough to dry it." Then the emperor laughed and gave up the idea.

Soon afterwards the Second Emperor was killed and Zhan went over to Han (206B.C.-8A.D.). A few years later he died.

The Grand Historian comments: When Chunyu Kun leaned back and laughed, King Wei of Qi became a mighty monarch. When Meng shook his head and sang, a firewood vender was enfeoffed. When Zhan called down from the balustrade, the guard was reduced by half. Isn't that splendid!

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<sup>1</sup> 371 B.C.



## 货殖列传

### 【原文】

《老子》曰：“至治之极，邻国相望，鸡狗之声相闻，民各甘其食，美其服，安其俗，乐其业，至老死不相往来。”必用此为务，挽近世涂民耳目，则几无行矣。

太史公曰：夫神农以前，吾不知已。至若《诗》、《书》所述虞、夏以来，耳目欲极声色之好，口欲穷刍豢之味，身安逸乐，而心夸矜势能之荣。使俗之渐民久矣，虽户说以眇论，终不能化。故善者因之，其次利道之，其次教诲之，其次整齐之，最下者与之争。

### 【今译】

《老子》说：“天下大治的极点，是邻近国家互相望见，鸡鸣狗吠声相互听见，人民各自认为自己的食物甘美，认为自己的衣服漂亮，安于自己的习俗，乐于自己的行业，直至年老死亡也不相互往来。”一定把这些作为努力的目标，在近代除非堵住人民的耳目，那就几乎是无法实行的。

太史公说：神农氏以前的事，是我不知道的。至于像《诗》、《书》所记述的虞、夏以来的情况，是耳目要极享音乐女色的美好，嘴巴要尝尽肉食的美味，身体安于闲逸快乐，而心里夸耀着权势的荣华。用这种风气浸染百姓很久了，即使用美妙的理论挨家挨户地劝说，终究不能感化。因此最好的办法是顺应他们，其次是因势利导，其次是教诲他们，其次是整顿约束他们，最下等的方法是和他们相争。



## The Money-makers

Lao Zi said, "When perfect government prevailed, although neighbouring states within sight of each other could hear the crowing of each other's cocks and the barking of each other's dogs, the people of each enjoyed their own food, admired their own clothing, were content with their ways and happy in their work, and would grow old and die without having any dealings with each other." Yet if we tried to set the world right today by stopping up the eyes and ears of the people, it would prove well-nigh impossible.

The Grand Historian comments: What it was like before the time of Shen Nong<sup>1</sup> I do not know, but, judging by the *Book of Songs* and *Book of Documents*, ever since the time of Emperor Shun and the Xia Dynasty men have desired to feast their eyes on beautiful women, their ears on music; their mouths have delighted in meat, their bodies in pleasure and comfort, and their hearts in power and glory. Even if you went from door to door reasoning with them, such deep-rooted habits as these could never be changed. The best thing, then, is to let matters take their own course; the next is to lead people through benefiting them; the next to use exhortations; the next, restrictions; and the worst way of all is to fight against these instincts.

## 【原文】

夫山西饶材、竹、谷、纻、旄、玉石；山东多鱼、盐、漆、丝、声色；江南出楠、梓、姜、桂、金、锡、连、丹沙、犀、玳瑁、珠玑、齿革；龙门、碣石北多马、牛、羊、旃裘、筋角；铜、铁则千里往往山出棋置。此其大较也，皆中国人民所喜好，谣俗被服饮食奉生送死之具也。故待农而食之，虞而出之，工而成之，商而通之。此宁有政教发征期会哉？人各任其能，竭其力，以得所欲。故物贱之征贵，贵之征贱，各劝其业，乐其事，若水之趋下，日夜无休时，不召而自来，不求而民出之。岂非道之所符，而自然之验邪？

## 【今译】

山西盛产木材、竹子、穀木、纻麻、牦牛、玉石；山东多出鱼、盐、漆、丝、音乐、美女；江南出产楠木、梓木、生姜、桂花、金、锡、铅、朱砂、犀牛、玳瑁、珠玑、象牙、皮革；龙门、碣石以北多有马、牛、羊、毛毡、皮裘、兽畜的筋角；铜、铁则是在千里之内，山中往往出产，矿山星罗棋布。这是物产的大致情况，都是国中人民喜好的，是俗话说的穿着饮食、养生送死的物品。因此要依赖农民种地来生产，依赖掌管山林水泽的虞人送出，依赖工匠制造，依赖商人流通。这些难道要有官府的政令教化来调发征召约期相会吗？人们各自发挥自己的才能，竭尽自己的力量，来求得自己所需要的。所以物品价格低贱时就到别处求得高价售出，价格昂贵时就到外地求得低价购进，各自努力从事自己的行业，乐于做自己的事，就像水流趋向低处，日夜没有休止的时候，不用征召就自动前来，不用强求民众就会生产出物品来。这难道不是符合于道、顺应自然的验证吗？



Roughly speaking, the region west of the mountains has an abundance of timber, bamboo, grain, mulberry, hemp, yak hide and jade; the region east of the mountains is rich in fish, salt, lacquer, silk, musicians and beautiful women. South of the Yangtse are catalpa, cedars, ginger, cassia, gold, tin, lead, cinnabar, rhinoceros horns, tortoise shell, pearls, ivory and hides; north of Longmen and Jieshi are horses, cattle, sheep, reit, furs, tendons and horns in plenty. As for copper and iron, the mountains stretching thousands of *li* are scattered with mines. This is the general outline. All these commodities are valued by the people of China, who use them for food and clothing, to Supply the living and to bury the dead.

There must be farmers to produce food, men to extract the wealth of mountains and marshes, artisans to process these things and merchants to circulate them. There is no need to wait for government orders: each man will play his part, doing his best to get what he desires. So cheap goods will go where they fetch more, while expensive goods will make men search for cheap ones. When all work willingly at their trades, just as water flows ceaselessly downhill day and night, things will appear unsought and people will produce them without being asked. For clearly this accords with the Way and is in keeping with nature.



## 【原文】

《周书》曰：“农不出则乏其食，工不出则乏其事，商不出则三宝绝，虞不出则财匱少。”财匱少而山泽不辟矣。此四者，民所衣食之原也。原大则饶，原小则鲜。上则富国，下则富家。贫富之道，莫之夺予，而巧者有余，拙者不足。故太公望封于营丘，地潟卤，人民寡，于是太公劝其女功，极技巧，通鱼盐，则人物归之，襁至而辐凑。故齐冠带衣履天下，海岱之间敛袂而往朝焉。其后齐中衰，管子修之，设轻重九府，则桓公以霸，九合诸侯，一匡天下；而管氏亦有三归，位在陪臣，富于列国之君。是以齐富强至于威、宣也。

## 【今译】

《周书》说：“农民不种植就会使其粮食缺乏，工匠不制造就会使其器物缺乏，商人不贸易就会使三宝隔绝不通，虞人不生产就会使财物匱少。”财物匱少而山林水泽就不能开发了。这四个方面，是人民穿衣吃饭的本源。源大就富饶，源小就匱乏。上就可以使国家富强，下就可以使家庭富足。贫穷或者富足的道路，没有人能夺取或给予，然而聪明的人富裕有余，笨拙的人贫穷不足。从前太公望受封在营丘，土地盐碱，人民稀少，于是太公鼓励那儿的妇女从事女红，使其技巧达到极高，又开通了鱼盐贸易，于是百姓和财物归向他，像襁带相接车辐集聚一样前来。所以齐国衣带鞋帽遍布天下，东海与泰山之间的人都束好衣袖前往齐国朝拜。那以后齐国中道衰落，管子修订整治，设置管理财物钱币的九府，于是齐桓公因此称霸，会合诸侯，匡正天下；而管子也有了三归台，地位虽在陪臣，却比各国的君主还要富有。因此齐国的富强延至威王、宣王的时代。



*The Book of Zhou* says, "Without farmers, food will be scarce; without artisans, goods will be scarce; without merchants, the three precious things will disappear; without men to open up the mountains and marshes, there will be a shortage of wealth." Here we have the four sources of men's food and clothing. When these sources are large there is prosperity; when small, there is scarcity. Above, they enrich a state; below, they enrich a family. The laws governing poverty and wealth are immutable, and the shrewd have plenty while the stupid go short.

When the Patriarch Lü Shang was given Yingqiu as his fief, the land was swampy and brackish and sparsely inhabited; but he encouraged the women to work, developed skilled occupations and opened up trade in fish and salt, so that men and goods poured in from every side. Soon the state of Qi was supplying the whole world with caps, belts, clothes and shoes, and the states between the Eastern Sea and Mount Tai paid respectful homage to it.

Later, Qi's power declined, but Guan Zhong restored it by setting up a new currency and nine treasuries. As a result, Duke Huan of Qi became an overlord and nine times summoned the other feudal lords to conferences, bringing order to the whole empire. Guan Zhong was rewarded with the fief of Sangui, and although his rank was only that of a servant's servant, he amassed greater wealth than the princes of other states. So Qi remained rich and powerful through the reigns of King Wei and King Xuan.



## 【原文】

故曰：“仓廩实而知礼节，衣食足而知荣辱。”礼生于有而废于无。故君子富，好行其德；小人富，以适其力。渊深而鱼生之，山深而兽往之，人富而仁义附焉。富者得势益彰，失势则客无所之，以而不乐。夷狄益甚。谚曰：“千金之子，不死于市。”此非空言也。故曰：“天下熙熙，皆为利来；天下壤壤，皆为利往。”夫千乘之王，万家之侯，百室之君，尚犹患贫，而况匹夫编户之民乎？

昔者越王句践困于会稽之上，乃用范蠡、计然。计然曰：“知斗则修备，时用则知物，二者形则万货之情可得而观已。故岁在金，穰；水，毁；木，饥；火，旱。旱则资舟，水则资车，物之理

## 【今译】

所以说：“仓库富实从而知道礼节，衣食丰足从而知道荣辱。”礼仪从富足中产生而在贫困中废弃。所以君子富有，就好施行他的仁德；小人富足，就会发挥他的能力。水深了鱼就生在里面，山深了野兽就前往那里，人富了仁义就会归附他。富人得势更加显赫，失势了门客就没有前来的，因而不高兴。夷狄民族更加严重。谚语说：“家有千金的子弟，不会在闹市被处死。”这不是没凭据的话。所以说：“天下纷纷扰扰，都是为求利而来；天下哄哄闹闹，都是为求利而往。”那些拥有千乘战车的君王，封有万户食邑的列侯，享有百家封地的君子，尚且担忧贫困，何况被编入户籍的平民百姓呢？

从前越王句践被围困在会稽山上，于是重用范蠡、计然。计然说：“知道会争斗就要做准备，知道按时使用就要了解物品，这两样清楚了那么各种货物的情况就可以掌握看出了。所以岁星在金位，五谷丰登；在水位，有水灾；在木位，有饥荒；在火位，



Thus it is said, "When the granaries are full, men learn propriety. When food and clothing are enough, men have a sense of honour and shame. Ceremony is born of sufficiency and disappears in time of want." That is why when a gentleman is rich he delights in cultivating virtue, but when an inferior man is rich he will display his power. Just as fish multiply in deep lakes and wild beasts flock to deep mountains, humanity and justice follow riches. A wealthy man's influence is greater while he has power, but once he loses power his protégés have nowhere to go and there is an end of pleasure. This is even more true of the barbarians.

As the proverb justly says, "A man with a thousand pieces of gold will not die in the market-place." So it is said,

How quickly after gain

The whole world races!

How madly after gain

The whole world chases!

Even the king of a land with a thousand chariots, a marquis with a fief of ten thousand households, or a lord with a hundred households dreads poverty, much more so, then, the common citizens on the state register.

When King Goujian of Yue was in desperate straits on Mount Kuaiji, he followed the advice of Fan Li and Ji Ran. Ji Ran said, "One who knows how to compete prepares in advance; one who understands seasonal needs knows commodities; and a grasp of these two things enables him to understand the whole market. Each year is dominated by an element. Metal means a good harvest, water a flood, wood a crop failure, and fire a drought. In time of drought, invest in boats; in time of flood, invest in carriages. This is the principle to follow. Every



## 【原文】

也。六岁穰，六岁旱，十二岁一大饥。夫粜，二十病农，九十病末。末病则财不出，农病则草不辟矣。上不过八十，下不减三十，则农末俱利。平粜齐物，关市不乏，治国之道也。积著之理，务完物，无息币。以物相贸，易腐败而食之货勿留，无敢居贵。论其有余不足，则知贵贱。贵上极则反贱，贱下极则反贵。贵出如粪土，贱取如珠玉。财币欲其行如流水。”修之十年，国富，厚赂战士，士赴矢石，如渴得饮，遂报强吴，观兵中国，称号“五霸”。

范蠡既雪会稽之耻，乃喟然而叹曰：“计然之策七，越用其五

## 【今译】

干旱。干旱时就要储备舟船，水涝时就要储备车辆，这是事物的道理。六年一次丰收，六年一次干旱，十二年一次大饥荒。出售粮食，每斗二十钱就会使农民受损害，每斗九十钱就会使商人受损失。商人受损失钱财就不流通，农民受损害土地就不被开发。每斗上不超过八十钱，下不少于三十钱，那么农民和商人都能获利。平价售粮调整物价，过关入市货物不缺，是治理国家的道理。积贮的道理，一定要积贮完备的货物，不要有滞积的钱币。用货物相贸易，容易腐败被蚀的货物不要留，不敢囤积以求高价。议论各种货物的有余或不足，就知道物价涨跌。物价向上涨到极点就下跌，向下跌到极点就会上涨。价高时抛出货物要像抛粪土一样快，低价时购取货物要像收珠玉一样急。货物钱财要使它像流水一样周转。”治国十年，国家富足，厚赏战士，战士们冒着箭矢飞石前进，就像口渴时得到水一样，终于向强大的吴国报了仇，又在中原地区检阅军队，号称“五霸”之一。

范蠡已经洗雪了会稽被困的耻辱，就慨然长叹说：“计然的计策有七项，越国运用了其中五项就实现了意愿。既然已经在治国



six years there will be a good harvest, every six years a drought, every twelve years a great famine. When the price of grain is too low, the farmers suffer; when it is too high, the merchants and artisans suffer. When the merchants and artisans suffer, wealth is not forthcoming; when the farmers suffer, they stop weeding the fields. If the price of grain is neither too high nor too low, farmers and merchants and artisans will all profit. The right way to govern is to keep the price of grain steady so that there is no lack of goods and no shortage of taxes.

"The way to accumulate wealth is to produce goods and not let money stay idle. Let there be an exchange of goods. Do not store up perishable commodities, or go in for those which are costly. By noting surpluses and shortages, you can tell what will be expensive and what cheap. When prices rise too high, they must fall again; when prices fall too low, they will rise again. When things are expensive, sell them off as if they were dirt, and buy up cheap goods as though they were jewels. Money should circulate like flowing water."

After King Goujian had observed these rules for ten years, his kingdom was so rich and his soldiers so well rewarded that they charged against arrows and stones like thirsty men rushing to drink. Then he took his revenge on the powerful state of Wu, demonstrated the might of his arms throughout the land and became one of the Five Overlords.

After the disgrace of Kuaiji was wiped out, Fan Li sighed and said, "By using five of Ji Ran's seven precepts, Yue gained its ends. They



### 【原文】

而得意。既已施于国，吾欲用之家。”乃乘扁舟浮于江湖，变名易姓，适齐为鸱夷子皮，之陶为朱公。朱公以为陶天下之中，诸侯四通，货物所交易也。乃治产积居，与时逐而不责于人。故善治生者，能择人而任时。十九年之中三致千金，再分散与贫交疏昆弟。此所谓富好行其德者也。后年衰老而听子孙，子孙修业而息之，遂至巨万。故言富者皆称陶朱公。

子贡既学于仲尼，退而仕于卫，废著鬻财于曹、鲁之间，七十子之徒，赐最为饶益。原宪不厌糟糠，匿于穷巷。子贡结驷连骑，束帛之币以聘享诸侯，所至，国君无不分庭与之抗礼。夫使孔子名

### 【今译】

上施行，我想用它来治家。”就乘一叶扁舟，漂浮在江湖之上，改名换姓，到了齐国叫做鸱夷子皮，到了陶地称为朱公。朱公认为陶地是天下的中心，与诸侯四面相通，是货物交易的场所。就治理产业囤积居奇，抓住时机求利而不责求于人力。所以擅长治理产业的人，能够选择人力而把握时机。十九年之中三次赚到千金钱财，两次分散给贫贱的朋友和远房的兄弟。这就是人们所说的富裕了就喜好施行仁德的人。后来年老体衰而听任子孙，子孙治理产业使它生息发展，于是达到亿万家产。所以人们谈论富翁时都称说陶朱公。

子贡在孔仲尼那里学成后，回到卫国做官，闲居时在曹国、鲁国之间买卖货物，孔子的七十位高徒，端木赐（字子贡）最富有。原宪连糟糠都吃不饱，隐居在偏僻小巷。子贡车马相连，带着束帛重礼去聘问进献诸侯，所到之处，国君没有哪个不和他分庭抗礼。使孔子的名声传扬天下，是子贡在人前人后帮助的结



have been applied in our state, and now I shall try them out for the benefit of my own family."

He sailed in a small boat down rivers and across lakes and, having changed his name, went to Qi, where he was known as Zhiyi Zipi, the Old Wine-skin. Then he went to Tao, where he was known as Lord Zhu.

Observing that Tao, at the hub of the realm, was a centre of communications and of barter, he acquired land property there, stored up commodities, and made a profit by biding his time without much exertion. He was a good manager, a sound judge of men, able to take advantage of the times. Three times in nineteen years he accumulated a thousand pieces of gold, and twice divided these between distant relatives and those in want. He was, in fact, a rich philanthropist. Later, when he grew old and infirm, he turned over his affairs to his sons and grandsons, who carried on and developed his business until they had millions. Thus Lord Zhu of Tao became a byword for a rich man.

Zigong, after studying with Confucius, went to hold office in Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.). He made money by buying cheap and selling dear in the region of Cao and Lu. Of the seventy disciples of Confucius, he was the richest. While Yuan Xian had not even husks enough to fill his belly and lived hidden in a wretched lane, Zigong travelled in a carriage drawn by four horses with an escort of riders bearing rolls of silk to present to the rulers of states. And wherever he went, the ruler received him as an equal. Indeed, it was thanks to Zigong that the fame



## 【原文】

布扬于天下者，子贡先后之也。此所谓得势而益彰者乎？

白圭，周人也。当魏文侯时，李克务尽地力，而白圭乐观时变，故人弃我取，人取我与。夫岁孰取谷，予之丝漆；茧出取帛絮，予之食。太阴在卯，穰；明岁衰恶。至午，旱；明岁美。至酉，穰；明岁衰恶。至子，大旱；明岁美，有水。至卯，积著率岁倍。欲长钱，取下谷；长石斗，取上种。能薄饮食，忍嗜欲，节衣服，与用事僮仆同苦乐，趋时若猛兽挚鸟之发。故曰：“吾治生产，犹伊尹、吕尚之谋，孙吴用兵，商鞅行法是也。是故其智不足与权变，勇不足以决断，仁不能以取予，强不能有所守，虽欲学吾

## 【今译】

果。这就是通常所说的得势而更加显赫吧？

白圭，是周人。在魏文侯时，李克追求用尽地力，而白圭喜欢观察时机变化，所以用别人放弃我收取，别人收取我给与的办法。年成丰收就购进粮食，售出丝、漆；蚕茧产出时就购进帛、丝绵，售出粮食。太岁星在卯位，大丰收；第二年歉收。到午位，干旱；第二年收成好。到酉位，大丰收；第二年歉收。至子位，干旱；第二年收成好，有雨水。到卯位，囤积的货物大概要比往年多了一倍。想要手中钱多，就购进下等的粮食；想要手中粮食多，就购进上等的粮种。能够不讲究吃喝，抑制嗜欲，节俭衣服，和手下的奴仆同甘共苦，趋赶赚钱的时机就像猛兽凶禽猎取食物那样突发迅猛。所以说：“我经营生产，像伊尹、吕尚施行谋略，像孙子、吴起用兵，像商鞅变法那样。因此一个人的智慧不足以随机应变，勇气不足以决断，仁德不能够正确取舍，坚强不能够有所保守，即使想学习我的方法，我终究不会告诉他



of Confucius spread — a clear case of power increasing reputation.

Bai Gui, a native of Zhou, lived during the time of Marquis Wen of Wei, when Li Ke was utilizing the land to the full. Bai Gui, however, enjoyed looking out for seasonal changes. What others spurned he took, what others sought he supplied. At harvest time he bought in grain and sold silk and lacquer, when cocoons came on the market he bought in raw silk and sold grain.

When the Primal Female Principle is in the sign of Cancer there will be a good harvest, but a bad one the following year. When it is in the sign of Libra there will be a drought, but a good harvest the next year. When it is in the sign of Capricorn, a good harvest will be followed by a failure the next year. When it is in the sign of Aries, there will be a serious drought followed by a good crop but also a flood the next year. When it returns to the sign of Cancer, the yearly store of grain will be doubled.

When he wanted more money, Bai Gui bought inferior grain; when he wanted to increase his stock, he bought good seeds. He spent little on food and drink, curbing his appetite and sharing the hardships and pleasures of his slaves, but seizing on any chance of gain as fiercely as some wild beast or bird of prey.

He said, "I do business in the same way that Yi Yin and Lü Shang planned their policies, Sun Zi and Wu Qi made war, and Lord Shang applied the law. If men lack the intelligence to change with the times, the courage to make quick decisions, the magnanimity to give things away and the strength to hold what they have, though they want to learn my art I will not teach them."



### 【原文】

术，终不告之矣。”盖天下言治生祖白圭。白圭其有所试矣，能试有所长，非苟而已也。

猗顿用监盐起，而邯郸郭纵以铁冶成业，与王者埒富。

乌氏倮畜牧，及众，斥卖，求奇缯物，间献遗戎王。戎王什倍其偿，与之畜，畜至用谷量马牛。秦始皇帝令倮比封君，以时与列臣朝请。而巴寡妇清，其先得丹穴，而擅其利数世，家亦不訾。清，寡妇也，能守其业，用财自卫，不见侵犯。秦皇帝以为贞妇而客之，为筑女怀清台。夫倮鄙人牧长，清穷乡寡妇，礼抗万乘，名显天下，岂非以富邪？

汉兴，海内为一，开关梁，弛山泽之禁，是以富商大贾周流天

### 【今译】

的。”因此天下的人说到经商之术都效法白圭。白圭大概是有所尝试吧，能够尝试而又有特长，并不是随便就能做到的。

猗顿靠经营池盐起家，而邯郸的郭纵靠冶炼铁器成就家业，与帝王同等富有。

乌氏县的倮经营畜牧业，等到牲畜众多，就卖掉，求购珍奇彩绣丝织品，暗中献给戎王。戎王用十倍的财物回赠，送给他牲畜，牲畜多得要用山谷为单位来计算牛马数量。秦始皇帝让倮与封君并列，按规定时间和列臣一起朝见。而巴地的寡妇清，她的祖先得到丹砂矿，独揽其利益已经好几代，家产也不可计量。清，是寡妇，能够守住她的家业，用钱财自卫，不被侵犯。秦始皇帝把她尊为贞妇用宾客的礼节来待她，为她修筑了女怀清台。倮是边境之人畜牧之长，清是穷乡僻壤的寡妇，能够和拥有万乘兵车的君主分庭抗礼，在天下扬名，难道不是依靠财富吗？

汉朝兴起，海内统一，关卡开放，开发山林水泽的禁令松



So all the world knows Bai Gui as the father of business management. He set a standard for those who wanted to learn from him, and accepted only those who came up to this standard. He did not teach everyone.

Yi Dun prospered because of his salt ponds and Guo Zong of Handan made a fortune in iron smelting. Both were as wealthy as any prince.

Then there was Luo of Wushi who raised livestock. When his herd had multiplied, he sold it to buy rare objects and coloured silk as presents for the king of the western tribes, who repaid him tenfold, giving him so many herds that he reckoned his cattle and horses by the valleyful. The First Emperor of Qin made him equal in status to a prince and allowed him to pay homage at court in spring and autumn with the ministers.

There was also the widow named Qing in the region of Ba and Shu, whose family owned a cinnabar mine and had monopolized the profit for several generations, so that her wealth was past counting. Although only a widow, she knew how to hold on to her property and used her wealth to protect herself so that nobody could molest her. The First Emperor of Qin treated her as a protégée and built the Tower of Nühuaiqing to honour her chastity.

Luo was only a rustic herdsman and Qing a widow in a poor district, yet both were treated with as much respect as the rulers of a state with ten thousand chariots, while their fame spread throughout the empire. Was this not on account of their wealth?

After the rise of the Han Dynasty, the whole country was united, passes and bridges were opened, and restrictions on the exploitation



## 【原文】

下，交易之物莫不通，得其所欲，而徙豪杰诸侯强族于京师。

关中自汧、雍以东至河、华，膏壤沃野千里，自虞夏之贡以为上田，而公刘适邠，大王、王季在岐，文王作丰，武王治镐，故其民犹有先王之遗风，好稼穡，殖五谷，地重，重为邪。及秦文、德、缪居雍，隙陇、蜀之货物而多贾。献公徙栎邑，栎邑北却戎翟，东通三晋，亦多大贾。孝、昭治咸阳，因以汉都，长安诸陵，四方辐凑并至而会，地小人众，故其民益玩巧而事末也。南则巴、蜀。巴、蜀亦沃野，地饶卮、姜、丹沙、石、铜、铁、竹、木之器。南御滇、僰，僰僮。西近邛、笮，笮马、旄牛。然

## 【今译】

动，因此富商大贾周行天下，交易货物没有什么不流通，得到了他们想要的，于是迁徙地方豪杰、诸侯、强大家族到京师。

关中地区从汧县、雍县以东到黄河、华山，膏壤沃野千里，从虞、夏征收贡赋时把那儿作为上等田地，而公刘迁徙到邠地，大王、王季居住在岐山，周文王修建丰邑，周武王修治镐都，所以那里的人民还有先王的遗风，爱好稼穑，种植五谷，以土地为重，不敢干邪恶之事。到秦文公、德公、穆公居住在雍邑，地处陇、蜀货物交流的要道而有很多商人。秦献公迁都到栎邑，栎邑往北使戎狄却步，往东和三晋相通，也有很多大商人。秦孝公、昭公修治咸阳，加上汉朝的都城长安以及附近的皇帝陵墓，四方八面的人像车辐凑聚一样来相聚，地小人多，所以那里的民众日益玩弄智巧从事工商之类的末业。南面就是巴郡、蜀郡。巴郡、蜀郡也是肥沃原野，土地盛产梔子、生姜、朱砂、石、铜、铁、竹、木器。南控滇、僰，僰地多出奴仆。西近邛、笮，笮地出产



of mountains and marshes were abolished. The result was that rich traders and influential merchants travelled all over the empire and goods of every kind circulated wherever men desired, while prominent citizens, nobles and powerful clans were moved to the capital.

Within the Hangu Pass, from the Jian and Yong Rivers east to the Yellow River and Mount Huashan, are a thousand *li* of rich and fertile fields, recognized as excellent land since the times of Emperor Shun and the Xia Dynasty. Gong Liu moved to Bin, Daiwang and Wangji resided in Qi, King Wen built the city of Feng and King Wu ruled from Hao. Thus the people of that region still show traces of the influence of the former kings. They are fond of agriculture, grow the five crops, value their land, and oppose evil practices.

Later, Duke Wen, Duke Xiao and Duke Mu of Qin had their capital at Yong, which became a centre of commerce for all the products of Long and Shu. When Duke Xian and Duke Xiao moved the capital to Yueyi, which was safe from the tribesmen of the north and had communications with Han (403B.C.-230B.C.), Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) and Zhao, this too became a great centre of commerce. Since Duke Wu and King Zhao had their capital at Xianyang, while the Han Dynasty capital with its mausoleums was at Chang'an, goods from all directions converged here. Because this region is small and populous, the people here are more ingenious and make a living by secondary occupations.

To the south are Ba and Shu, another fertile region, rich in safflower, ginger, cinnabar, stone, copper, iron and utensils of bamboo and wood. In the south Ba and Shu control Dian and Bo, the latter known for its slaves. To their west lie Qiong and Ze, the latter noted for its horses



## 【原文】

四塞，栈道千里，无所不通，唯褒斜绾毂其口，以所多易所鲜。天水、陇西、北地、上郡与关中同俗，然西有羌中之利，北有戎翟之畜，畜牧为天下饶。然地亦穷险，唯京师要其道。故关中之地，于天下三分之一，而人众不过什三，然量其富，什居其六。

昔唐人都河东，殷人都河内，周人都河南。夫三河在天下之中，若鼎足，王者所更居也，建国各数百千岁。土地小狭，民人众，都国诸侯所聚会，故其俗纤俭习事。杨、平阳陈西贾秦、翟，北贾种、代。种、代，石北也，地边胡，数被寇。人民矜慎忮，好气，任侠为奸，不事农商。然迫近北夷，师旅亟往，中国委输时有

## 【今译】

马、牦牛。然而四面闭塞，靠栈道千里，无处不通，惟有褒斜像车轂约束道口，用多余的货物交换短缺的货物。天水、陇西、北地、上郡和关中的习俗相同，然而向西有羌中的便利，往北有戎狄的畜牧，畜牧业为天下第一。但是土地很贫瘠险恶，只有京师控制它的通道。所以关中的土地，占天下的三分之一，人口不过十分之三，然而估计它的财富，十成占了六成。

以前唐人在河东建都，殷人在河内建都，周人在河南建都。这三河地区位于天下的中心，就像鼎的三只脚，是帝王们更迭居住的地方，建国各有数百上千年。土地狭小，人口众多，是都城封国诸侯聚会的地方，所以当地的民俗吝啬节俭熟习世故。杨、平阳的民众向西到秦、戎狄地区作买卖，向北到种、代地区作买卖。种、代地区，在石邑北面，地近匈奴，屡次遭受寇掠。人民骄横强直，喜好斗气，行侠为奸，不从事农耕商业。但靠近北夷，军队经常来往，从中原地区运送来的物资时有剩余。那里的



and yaks. Ba and Shu have natural barriers on four sides, but plank roads extend a thousand li through the mountains, communicating with all parts of the country, while they all meet at the Baoye Defile where men can barter surplus goods for what they lack.

The provinces of Tianshui, LongXi, Beidi and Shangjun follow the same customs as the area within the Passes; but with the resources of the Qiang tribesmen in the west and the cattle of the Rong and Di tribes in the north, these provinces have more herds than any other part of the empire. This region is mountainous and inaccessible, in communication with the capital only.

Thus the area within the Pass makes up one-third of the territory of the empire, with three-tenths of the population; yet its wealth amounts to three-fifths of the whole.

In the old days, Emperor Yao had his capital east of the Yellow River; the Shang capital was north of the river bend; and the Zhou capital was south of the Yellow River. These three parts of the empire are like the three feet of a tripod; many kings have established states and capitals there which lasted for centuries. Since these small regions have large populations and the nobles have congregated there, the people are petty-minded, thrifty and worldly.

Yang and Pingyang trade with Qin and Di in the west and with Zhong and Dai in the north, further north than Shi. They lie next to the Huns, who often attack them. So the people here are bold, stubborn, adventurous and unruly, not given to farming or trading. Because these districts are so close to the northern barbarians, troops have often been sent there and goods from the interior have been taken there in large quantities. The strain is very mixed, and even before Jin was divided



1210

### 【原文】

奇羨。其民羯羶不均，自全晋之时固已患其儻悍，而武灵王益厉之，其谣俗犹有赵之风也。故杨、平阳陈據其间，得所欲。温、轵西贾上党，北贾赵、中山。中山地薄人众，犹有沙丘紂淫地余民，民俗憤急，仰机利而食。丈夫相聚游戏，悲歌慷慨，起则相隨椎剽，休則掘冢作巧奸冶，多美物，為倡优。女子則鼓鳴瑟，跕屣，游媚貴富，入后宮，遍諸侯。

然邯郸亦漳、河之間一都會也。北通燕、涿，南有鄭、衛。鄭、衛俗與趙相類，然近梁、魯，微重而矜節。濮上之邑徙野王，野王好氣任俠，衛之風也。

夫燕亦勃、碣之間一都會也。南通齊、趙，東北邊胡。上谷

### 【今译】

民众身如健羊强悍不安，从晋国还没分裂时本来就已经对他们的强悍感到担忧，而赵武灵王使他们变得更加厉害，他们的风俗还有赵国的遗风。所以杨、平阳的百姓在这中间经商买卖，得其所欲。温、轵地区的百姓向西到上党做买卖，往北到赵、中山做生意。中山土地贫瘠人口众多，还有沙丘一带殷纣王当年淫乐遗址的后裔，民俗急躁，靠投机谋利生活。男人相聚游戏，慷慨悲歌，行动时就相随着用椎杀人抢掠，休息时就去盗墓造假做奸诈淫乱的事，多有美色的人，去做倡优。女人们就弹奏着瑟，拖拉着鞋子，在权贵富豪中游走献媚，进入后宫，遍及各地诸侯。

然而邯郸也是漳水、黄河之间的一个都市。北通燕、涿，南有郑、卫。郑、卫的习俗和赵相类似，但靠近梁、鲁，稍微庄重而注重气节。卫国从濮上城邑迁徙到野王，野王的风俗喜好斗气行侠，是卫国的遗风。

那燕都也是渤海、碣石之间的一个都市。南通齐、赵，东北



into three parts the people were known for their boldness. King Wuling of Zhao encouraged this, and the local customs today still smack of those times. The merchants of Yang and Pingyang do business with them and can get what they want from them.

Wen and Zhi trade with Shangdang in the west and with Zhao and Zhongshan in the north. Zhongshan has poor soil and a large population. Some of the inhabitants of Shaqiu are descended from families already there in the time of wicked King Zhou.<sup>2</sup> The people are hot-tempered and live by their wits. Bands of able-bodied men roister together or sing melancholy songs, setting out openly to kill and steal, or secretly robbing graves and minting counterfeit money. They have many fine possessions and can sing and mime. The women play clear-sounding lyres, wear pointed slippers and try to bewitch the rich and noble, in the hope of being taken into the palaces of the noble lords all over the country.

Handan, between the Zhang and the Yellow Rivers, is another important centre, communicating with Yan and Zhao in the north, with Zheng and Wei (1024B.C.-209B.C.) in the south. The customs of Zheng and Wei are like those of Zhao, except that their proximity to Liang and Lu makes the people more sedate and circumspect. Since the capital of Wei was moved from Puyang to Yewang, the men there are bold and adventurous in the tradition of Wei.

Yan, between Bohai and Jieshi, is a major centre communicating with Qi and Zhao in the south and bordering on the Huns in the



## 【原文】

至辽东，地踔远，人民希，数被寇，大与赵、代俗相类，而民雕悍少虑，有鱼盐枣栗之饶。北邻乌桓、夫余，东绾秽貉、朝鲜、真番之利。

洛阳东贾齐、鲁，南贾梁、楚。故泰山之阳则鲁，其阴则齐。齐带山海，膏壤千里，宜桑麻，人民多文采、布、帛、鱼、盐。

临菑亦海岱之间一都会也。其俗宽缓阔达，而足智，好议论，地重，难动摇，怯于众斗，勇于持刺，故多劫人者，大国之风也。其中具五民。

而邹、鲁滨洙、泗，犹有周公遗风，俗好儒，备于礼，故其民

## 【今译】

邻近匈奴。从上谷到辽东，土地辽阔，人民稀少，屡次遭受寇掠，民俗大体和赵、代相似，而民众像雕那样强悍，少思虑。盛产鱼、盐、枣、栗。北面邻近乌桓、夫余，东面有控制秽貉、朝鲜、真番的有利地势。

洛阳向东可以到齐、鲁做买卖，向南可以到梁、楚做买卖。所以泰山的南边就是鲁，它的北边就是齐。齐地山海环绕，膏腴之地方圆千里，适宜种植桑麻，人民大多生产彩绸、麻布、丝帛、鱼、盐。

临菑也是东海、泰山之间的一个都市。那里的风俗宽容豁达，而足智多谋，爱好议论，以土地为重，难以动摇离散，从军战斗胆怯，单身持刀行刺勇敢，所以多有抢劫他人的，这是大国的风尚。当地士、农、商、工、贾五色人等俱全。

而邹、鲁两地滨临洙水、泗水，还有周公的遗风，民俗喜好儒学，礼仪完备，所以那里的百姓小心谨慎。多有桑麻的产业，



northeast. The vast, thinly populated highlands between Shanggu and Liaodong are often raided by tribesmen. The customs resemble those of Zhao and Dai. The people are bold and reckless. Fish, salt, jujubes and chestnuts abound here. On the north the region adjoins the Wuhuan and Fuyu tribes; on the east it does a profitable trade with Huimo, Chaoxian and Zhenpan.

Luoyang does business in the east with Qi and Lu, in the south with Liang and Chu.

South of Mount Tai is Lu, and north is Qi. Qi, bounded by mountains and the sea, has fertile fields stretching a thousand *li*, where mulberries and hemp thrive. The people have an abundance of coloured silk, cloth, plain silk, fish and salt.

Linzi is an important centre between the sea and Mount Tai. The local people are easy-going, open-minded and intelligent, fond of discussion, stable and not easily shaken. They show cowardice if fighting in a body but courage in single combat, and so there are many brigands. Theirs are the ways of a great kingdom. Here all five categories of men are to be found.

Zou and Lu on the banks of the rivers Zhu and Si have kept up the tradition of the duke of Zhou. The people favour the Confucian

### 【原文】

龌龊。颇有桑麻之业，无林泽之饶。地小人众，俭啬，畏罪远邪。及其衰，好贾趋利，甚于周人。

夫自鸿沟以东，芒、砀以北，属巨野，此梁、宋也。陶、睢阳亦一都会也。昔尧作于成阳，舜渔于雷泽，汤止于毫。其俗犹有先王遗风，重厚多君子，好稼穡，虽无山川之饶，能恶衣食，致其蓄藏。

越、楚则有三俗。夫自淮北沛、陈、汝南、南郡，此西楚也。其俗剽轻，易发怒，地薄，寡于积聚。江陵故郢都，西通巫、巴，东有云梦之饶。陈在楚夏之交，通鱼盐之货，其民多贾。徐、僮、取虑则清刻，矜己诺。

### 【今译】

但没有山林水泽的富饶特产。土地狭小人口众多，人们节俭吝啬，害怕犯罪远离邪恶。待到他们年老时，喜好经商趋利，比周地的人还厉害。

从鸿沟以东，芒山、砀山以北，连到巨野，这是梁、宋地区。陶、睢阳也是一个都市。从前尧在成阳劳作，舜在雷泽捕鱼，汤在毫定都。那里的风俗还有先王的遗风，庄重忠厚多有君子，喜爱农耕稼穑，虽然没有山林大川的富饶，但能节衣缩食，来得到积蓄储藏。

越、楚则有三种风俗。从淮北沛、陈、汝南、南郡，这是西楚。那里的民俗剽悍轻率，容易发怒，土地瘠薄，少有财物的积聚。江陵是原先的郢都，西面通达巫、巴，东面有云梦的富饶。陈在楚、夏的交接处，流通鱼、盐之类的货物，那里的民众多为商人。徐、僮、取虑的民俗则清廉严谨，重视自己的诺言。



school, have an elaborate code of etiquette, and are therefore punctilious in their behaviour. Mulberries and hemp are widely cultivated, but they have no forests or marshes. Land is scarce and the population dense. Frugal, cautious and afraid of trouble, the people steer clear of evil. Since the decline of their state they have taken to trading and become more grasping than the men of Zhou.

East of Honggou and extending to Juye north of the Mang and Dang Mountains lie the regions of Liang and Song. Tao and Suiyang are important centres here. In ancient times, Emperor Yao travelled to Chengyang, Emperor Shun fished at Leize and King Tang stayed at Bo; hence the tradition of these former rulers is maintained. The people are generous, gentlemen are numerous, and farming is their favourite occupation. Although they lack rich mountains and rivers, the people accumulate wealth by spending little on their food and clothing.

Three different traditions prevail in Yue and Chu. From the River Huai north to Pei, Chen, Runan and Nanjun, is the western Chu region. Its people are impetuous and easily moved to anger. The land is poor with little store of wealth. Jiangling, on the site of the old Chu capital Ying, communicates with Wu and Ba in the west while to its east are the rich Yunmeng marshes. Chen, between Chu and Xia, trades in fish and salt, and most of its people are merchants. The men of Xu, Tong and Qulü are honest and keep their word.

### 【原文】

彭城以东，东海、吴、广陵，此东楚也。其俗类徐、僮。朐、缯以北，俗则齐；浙江南则越。夫吴自阖庐、春申、王濞三人招致天下之喜游子弟，东有海盐之饶，章山之铜，三江、五湖之利，亦江东一都会也。

衡山、九江、江南、豫章、长沙，是南楚也。其俗大类西楚。郢之后徙寿春，亦一都会也。而合肥受南北潮，皮革、鲍、木输会也。与闽中、干越杂俗，故南楚好辞，巧说少信。江南卑湿，丈夫早夭。多竹木。豫章出黄金，长沙出连、锡，然堇堇物之所有，取之不足以更费。九疑、苍梧以南至儋耳者，与江南大同俗，而杨越多焉。番禺亦其一都会也，珠玑、犀、玳瑁、果、布之凑。

### 【今译】

彭城以东，东海、吴、广陵，是东楚。那里的民俗和徐、僮相似。朐、缯以北，民俗则和齐地相似；浙江南面则和越地相似。吴自从阖庐、春申君、吴王刘濞三人招揽来天下喜好游荡的子弟，东面有海盐的富饶，章山的铜矿，三江、五湖的便利，也是江东的一个都市。

衡山、九江、江南、豫章、长沙，是南楚。那里的习俗大体和西楚相似。郢都后来迁到寿春，也是一个都市。而合肥连接南北河流，皮革、鲍鱼、木材在这里集散。和闽中、干越的习俗相混杂，所以南楚的百姓喜好言辞，花言巧语缺少信用。江南地势低下气候潮湿，男人短命早死。盛产竹木。豫章出产黄金，长沙出产铅、锡，但是矿藏量很少，开采所得不足以抵偿花费。九疑、苍梧以南到儋耳一带，民俗与江南大体相同，而多与杨越相似。番禺也是那里的一个都市，是珠玑、犀牛角、玳瑁、水果、葛布的集散地。



From Pengcheng east to Donghai, Wu and Guangling is the region of eastern Chu with customs similar to those of Xu and Tong. The people north of Ju and Zeng follow the customs of Qi. South of the River Zhe the customs resemble those of ancient Yue. Ever since King Helü, Lord Chunshen and Prince Bi of Wu invited wandering scholars from all parts to Wu, this region with salt from the sea in the east, the copper mines of Mount Zhang and the advantages of three rivers and five lakes, has become an important centre in the east Yangtse Valley.

Southern Chu comprises Hengshan, Jiujiang, Jiangnan, Yuzhang and Changsha, and the customs are similar to those of western Chu. Shouchun, where the Chu capital was moved from Ying, is also an important centre. The district of Hefei has waterways in the south and north and is a centre for the shipping of hides and leather, salted fish and timber. It shares some of the customs of Minzhong and Yuyue. The men of southern Chu are eloquent speakers but not too reliable. Jiangnan is low and damp and men die early there, but bamboo and wood abound. Yuzhang produces gold, Changsha tin and lead. The output is too little, however, to cover the cost of mining.

From Jiuyi and Cangwu south to Zhaner, the customs are similar to those of Jiangnan, particularly as regards the people of Yangyue. Panyu is an important centre with its pearls, rhinoceros horn, tortoise shell, fruit and cloth.

## 【原文】

颍川、南阳，夏人之居也。夏人政尚忠朴，犹有先王之遗风。颍川敦愿。秦末世，迁不轨之民于南阳。南阳西通武关、鄖关，东南受汉、江、淮。宛亦一都会也。俗杂好事，业多贾。其任侠，交通颍川，故至今谓之“夏人”。

夫天下物所鲜所多，人民谣俗，山东食海盐，山西食盐卤，领南、沙北固往往出盐，大体如此矣。

总之，楚越之地，地广人希，饭稻羹鱼，或火耕而水耨，果隋蠃蛤，不待贾而足，地势饶食，无饥馑之患，以故皆窳偷生，无积聚而多贫。是故江淮以南，无冻饿之人，亦无千金之家。沂、泗水以北，宜五谷桑麻六畜，地小人众，数被水旱之害，民

## 【今译】

颍川、南阳，是夏人的居住地。夏人为政崇尚忠厚质朴，还有先王的遗风。颍川人敦厚善良。秦朝末年，迁徙不法之徒到南阳。南阳西面通达武关、鄖关，东南连接汉水、长江、淮河。宛也是一个都市。风俗杂乱好事，多以经商为业。那里的百姓行侠仗义，和颍川交往，因此至今称他们为“夏人”。

天下的物产有少有多，人民的习俗，山东吃海盐，山西吃池盐，岭南、沙北本来处处产盐，情况大体如此吧。

总之，楚、越地区，土地广阔人口稀少，以稻米为主食鱼类作菜羹，有的地方烧火耕种灌水除草，瓜果螺蛤不用买就很富足，地力使食物丰富，没有饥荒的忧患，因此人们苟且偷生，没有积蓄而多有贫穷。因此长江、淮河以南，没有挨饿受冻的人，也没有千金财富的人家。沂水、泗水以北，适宜生长五谷、桑麻、六畜，土地狭小人口众多，多次遭受水旱灾害，民众喜好积



Yingchuan and Nanyang were the home of the Xia Dynasty, and the people are known for their honesty and simplicity, a relic of the old Xia tradition. The men of Yingchuan are honest and law-abiding. Towards the end of the Qin Dynasty law-breakers were sent to Nanyang, which communicates with the Wu and Yun Passes and with the Han, Yangtse and Huai Rivers in the southeast. Wan is another important city. Its customs are mixed. The people are enterprising and among them are many merchants and gallant men; there are direct communications with Yingchuan. The people of this district have always been known as men of Xia.

That is a general picture of the distribution of products and the local customs in different parts of the empire. The people east of the mountains use salt extracted from the sea, those west of the mountains use rock salt, while south of the Five Mountain Ranges and north of the desert they produce some salt as well.

To sum up, the extensive region of Chu and Yue is sparsely inhabited. The people eat rice and fish, prepare the land for ploughing by burning, cultivate paddy-fields, and have a sufficiency of fruit, gourds and shellfish so that they need not resort to trade. Since there is an abundance of food and no fear of famine, the people are indolent and easy-going. They do not store up wealth and many of them are poor. As a result, south of the Huai and Yangtse Rivers no one suffers from cold or hunger, but neither are there very wealthy families.

North of the Yi and Si Rivers, the land is suitable for grain, mulberries, hemp and livestock. The area is not large but densely populated and, owing to the frequency of floods and drought, the people



## 【原文】

好畜藏，故秦、夏、梁、鲁好农而重民。三河、宛、陈亦然，加以商贾。齐、赵设智巧，仰机利。燕、代田畜而事蚕。

由此观之，贤人深谋于廊庙，论议朝廷，守信死节隐居岩穴之士设为名高者安归乎？归于富厚也。是以廉吏久，久更富，廉贾归富。富者，人之情性，所不学而俱欲者也。故壮士在军，攻城先登，陷阵却敌，斩将搴旗，前蒙矢石，不避汤火之难者，为重赏使也。其在闾巷少年，攻剽椎埋，劫人作奸，掘冢铸币，任侠并兼，借交报仇，篡逐幽隐，不避法禁，走死地如骛者，其实皆为财用耳。今夫赵女郑姬，设形容，揳鸣琴，揄长袂，蹑利屣，目挑心

## 【今译】

蓄储藏，所以秦、夏、梁、鲁爱好农耕重视民众。三河、宛、陈也是这样，还加上经营商业。齐、赵的民众玩弄智慧巧技，靠投机谋利为生。燕、代的民众以种田放牧养蚕为业。

由此看来，贤人在宗庙里深谋远虑，在朝廷上争议辩论，那些坚守信义死守节操隐居深山岩穴中的人士设法抬高自己名望的要归向何处呢？是要归向富贵。因此清廉的官吏能任职长久，长久了更加富贵，清廉的商人终归致富。财富，是人的情性所在，是人们不用学而都想得到的东西。所以壮士在军队里，攻城时抢先登攀，冲锋陷阵杀退敌人，斩将拔旗，前进冒着箭林石雨，不怕赴汤蹈火危险的，是被重赏所驱使。那些住在民间里巷的少年，攻击剽掠用椎杀人埋人，抢劫犯奸，挖坟盗墓私铸钱币，行侠兼并财物，代朋友报仇，在幽暗隐蔽的地方逃避追捕，不避法律禁令，像快马奔驰似地在死路上跑的，其实都是为了财用罢了。如今那些赵女郑姬，修饰容貌，弹奏鸣琴，挥动长袖，拖着尖鞋，



store up provisions. Hence in Qin, Xia, Liang and Lu attention is paid to agriculture and most of the people are farmers. The same is true of Sanhe, Wan and Chen, although the people also engage in trade. The people of Qi and Zhao are shrewd and resourceful and live by their wits, while those of Yan and Dai make a living by farming, cattle-breeding and sericulture.

From this one thing becomes clear. For what purpose do able men try to plan ahead in affairs of state, dispute with each other at court, abide by their word and die for their principles? For what purpose do hermits in mountain caves try by every means to win fame? Their aim is wealth and comfort. So honest officials, remaining long at their posts, get rich in the end. Honest merchants, too, become wealthy.

Wealth is something all men desire instinctively without having to be taught. Brave soldiers scale a city wall ahead of their fellows, break through enemy lines, throw back the foe, kill his general, capture his flag and brave arrows, stones, boiling water and flames, all because of the prospect of a rich reward.

Young men from the byways set on passers-by and rob them, murder men and bury their bodies, kidnap people and plunder them, rob graves, coin counterfeit money, become local despots, seize property, carry out personal vendettas and do dark and secret deeds, defying all laws and prohibitions and rushing headlong into danger — they do all this for the sake of money too.

The girls of Zhao and Zheng paint their faces, play clear lyres, flutter their long sleeves, mince about in pointed slippers, make eyes at



### 【原文】

招，出不远千里，不择老少者，奔富厚也。游闲公子，饰冠剑，连车骑，亦为富贵容也。弋射渔猎，犯晨夜，冒霜雪，驰坑谷，不避猛兽之害，为得味也。博戏驰逐，斗鸡走狗，作色相矜，必争胜者，重失负也。医方诸食技术之人，焦神极能，为重糈也。吏士舞文弄法，刻章伪书，不避刀锯之诛者，没于赂遗也。农工商贾畜长，固求富益货也。此有知尽能索耳，终不余力而让财矣。

谚曰：“百里不贩樵，千里不贩籴。”居之一岁，种之以谷；十岁，树之以木；百岁，来之以德。德者，人物之谓也。今有无秩禄之奉，爵邑之入，而乐与之比者，命曰“素封”。封者食租税，

### 【今译】

用眼色挑逗用情意勾引，外出不远千里，不分老少的，是要投奔富贵啊。游手好闲的公子，装饰帽子佩剑，连接车子坐骑，也是显示富贵的模样。捕鱼打猎的人，起早贪黑，冒雪披霜，奔波在深坑峡谷，不躲避猛兽的伤害，是为了得到野味。赌博游戏赛马驰逐，斗鸡比狗的人，勃然变色争相夸耀，必定争胜的，是看重输钱呀。医生方士各种靠技术吃饭的人，焦思苦虑极尽其能，是为了求得丰厚的报酬。官吏文士舞文弄法，私刻印章伪造文书，不避刀锯诛杀，是被贿赂馈赠迷惑了。农、工、商贾、畜牧业，本来就是为了追求富贵增加财富。这样只有智慧用尽能力完结才罢休，终究是不会留下余力而放弃财富的。

俗语说：“百里之外不贩卖柴，千里之外不贩卖粮。”在一个地方居住一年，可种植谷物；居住十年，可种植树木；居住一百年，要用仁德引来人。仁德，说的就是人才。现在那些没有官职俸禄的奉养、爵位封邑的收入，但生活快乐能与有俸禄封邑的人相比的人，被叫作“素封”。有封邑的人吃封邑的租税，每年每



men, flirt, and will gladly go a thousand *li* to find a lover regardless of his age, because they are after wealth and comfort too.

Idle young nobles wear splendid hats and swords and keep carriages and retinues of riders, to flaunt their riches and rank. Some go hunting, shooting or fishing morning and night, braving frost and snow and riding through valleys where wild beasts may spring out at them, so eager are they to get game. Gamblers and those who bet on horses, cock-fights and hounds grow angry or boastful and insist on winning, so reluctant are they to lose their wagers. Men who devote all their skill and energy to medicine, cooking or other arts, do so for the sake of handsome payment. Clerks who juggle with phrases twist the law, fake seals and forge signatures at the risk of decapitation or being sawn asunder, do so because they have been bribed.

In the same way, peasants, artisans, merchants and cattle-breeders seek wealth and an increase of their possessions. Men of any intelligence spare no effort and will stop at nothing to achieve this, never letting slip a chance to make money.

There is a maxim: "Don't go a hundred *li* to sell firewood. Don't go a thousand *li* to deal in grain." If you are to be in a place for one year, sow grain; if for ten years, plant trees; if for a hundred years, rely on virtue — in other words on personal prestige. There are men with no government stipends, no revenue from fiefs, who live as well as if they had these things and are called "nobles without titles". An enfeoffed noble lives off taxes and levies an average of two hundred cash a year



### 【原文】

岁率户二百。千户之君则二十万，朝覲聘享出其中。庶民农工商贾，率亦岁万息二千，百万之家则二十万，而更徭租赋出其中。衣食之欲，恣所好美矣。故曰陆地牧马二百蹄，牛蹄角千，千足羊，泽中千足彘，水居千石鱼陂，山居千章之材；安邑千树枣，燕、秦千树栗，蜀、汉、江陵千树橘，淮北、常山已南，河济之间千树萩，陈、夏千亩漆，齐、鲁千亩桑麻，渭川千亩竹，及名国万家之城，带郭千亩亩锺之田，若干亩卮茜，千畦姜韭。此其人皆与千户侯等。然是富给之资也，不窥市井，不行异邑，坐而待收，身有处士之义而取给焉。若至家贫亲老，妻子软弱，岁时无以祭祀进

### 【今译】

户二百钱。有千户封邑的君主就有二十万，朝覲天子聘问诸侯祭祀供享都从其中支出。庶民百姓从事农、工、商贾，每年每万钱也有利息二千，有一百万的人家就有二十万，而雇人服役租税徭赋的费用都从其中支出。吃穿上的欲望，能任意地享受自己喜欢的。所以说在陆地养马五十四，养牛一百六七十头，养羊二百五十只，在水泽中养猪二百五十头，水中占有年产千石鱼的鱼塘，山中拥有千棵成材的大树；有安邑的千棵枣树，燕、秦的千棵栗子树，蜀、汉、江陵的千棵橘树，淮北、常山以南，黄河、济水之间的千棵楸树，陈、夏的千亩漆树，齐、鲁的千亩桑麻，渭川的千亩竹林，以及名都万户的大城，和城郊亩产一钟的千亩良田，近千亩的梔子、茜草，千畦生姜、韭菜。这样的人财富可与千户侯相等。这样说来这是富足生活的资本，不用去市场察看，不要到外地奔波，坐而待收，本身有隐士的名义而又得到富裕收入。假如到了家境贫穷双亲衰老，妻子儿女瘦弱，逢年过节



from each household. Thus the lord of a thousand households has an annual income of two hundred thousand cash, out of which he has to cover the expenses of his visits to court to pay homage, his gifts to other nobles and his sacrifices.

Common people such as farmers, artisans and merchants, who have ten thousand cash, can get a yearly interest of two thousand. This means that families with a million cash will also have an income of two hundred thousand, enough to buy themselves off conscript service, pay taxes and duties and still get all the fine clothes and food they want.

Thus it is said that a man's income equals that of a marquis with a fief of a thousand households if he has any of the following: pastures with fifty horses or a hundred and sixty-seven oxen, or two hundred and fifty sheep; swamps with two hundred and fifty pigs; ponds stocked with a thousand piculs of fish; hills bearing a thousand timber trees; a thousand jujube trees in Anyi; a thousand chestnut trees in Yan or Qin; a thousand tangerine trees in Shu, Han or Jiangling; a thousand catalpas north of the Huai River, south of Changshan, or between the Yellow and Ji Rivers; a thousand mu of lacquer trees in Chen or Xia; a thousand mu of mulberries or hemp in Qi And Lu; a thousand mu of bamboos in Weichuan; a thousand mu of land producing sixty-four pecks a mu in the vicinity of cities with ten thousand households in big provinces; a thousand mu of safflower; a thousand plots of ginger or scallion. Such men do not have to go to market or travel to other districts, but can sit at home waiting for the harvest, living as private gentlemen of means.

**【原文】**

釀，饮食被服不足以自通，如此不惭耻，则无所比矣。是以无财作力，少有斗智，既饶争时，此其大经也。今治生不待危身取给，则贤人勉焉。是故本富为上，末富次之，奸富最下。无岩处奇士之行，而长贫贱，好语仁义，亦足羞也。

凡编户之民，富相什则卑下之，伯则畏惮之，千则役，万则仆，物之理也。夫用贫求富，农不如工，工不如商，刺绣文不如倚市门。此言末业，贫者之资也。通邑大都，酤一岁千酿，醯酱千甕，浆千甕，屠牛羊彘千皮，贩谷粜千钟，薪稿千车，船长千丈，木千章，竹竿万个，其轺车百乘，牛车千两，木器髹者千

**【今译】**

没钱祭祀聚餐，吃穿铺盖不足以养活自己，这样还不惭愧羞耻，那就没有什么可比的了。因此没有钱财就要出力谋生，稍有钱财就要斗智求富，已经富饶了便要追逐时机获利，这是它的基本规律。现在不会危及自身就能发财致富，那么贤人也会努力。所以靠农耕本业致富为上等，靠工商末业致富为次等，靠奸诈致富为最下等。没有隐居山野奇士的德行，而又长期贫穷低贱，爱好空谈仁义，也够耻辱的了。

凡是编入户籍的普通百姓，财富和别人相差十倍就会对别人卑躬屈膝，相差百倍就会惧怕别人，相差千倍就会被别人役使，相差万倍就会做别人的奴仆，这是事情的常理。以贫求富，务农不如做工，做工不如经商，刺绣文彩不如倚门出卖。这里说的工商末业，是穷人致富的手段。交通便利的大都市，一年内要酿酒千瓮，醋酱千缸，饮料千瓶，屠剥牛、羊、猪皮千张，贩卖谷物千钟，柴草千车，拥有的船只连接起来长达千丈，木材千根，竹竿万枝，马车百乘，牛车千辆，上漆的木器千件，铜器千钩，不



As for those paupers with old parents and an ailing wife and children who are not ashamed of being unable to sacrifice at the right season or to provide entertainment, food, drink, clothing and bedding, such men have no social standing. That is why, as a general rule, a man with no money works hard, one with a little money uses his wits, and one who is well off seizes every chance to better himself.

A good man should exert himself to make a living without waiting till he is in desperate straits. The best kind of wealth comes from farming, the next best from trade and handicrafts, the worst from evil practices. When, in spite of poverty and lowliness, one who is no hero or gentleman of talent still talks about virtue and justice, he ought to be thoroughly ashamed of himself.

The ordinary citizen will abase himself before one ten times richer than he, fear one a hundred times richer, serve one a thousand times richer, and be the slave of one ten thousand times richer. This is the nature of things.

If a poor man wants to become rich, it is better to be an artisan than a farmer, better to be a merchant than an artisan, better to be a vender than work at embroidery. In other words, trade and handicrafts are the best way for a poor man to make money.

In centres of communications and large cities a man can live like the lord of a thousand chariots if each year he produces a thousand jars of wine, a thousand jars of vinegar or a thousand pots of sauce; if he slaughters a thousand oxen, sheep or pigs; if he sells a thousand *zhong*<sup>3</sup> of grain or a thousand cartloads of firewood; if he owns boats ten thousand feet long if set in a line, a thousand logs of timber, ten thousand bamboo poles, a hundred small carriages, a thousand ox-carts, a thousand varnished wood utensils, thirty thousand catties of

### 【原文】

枚，铜器千钩，素木铁器若卮茜千石，马蹄蹠千，牛千足，羊彘千双，僮手指千，筋角丹沙千斤，其帛絮细布千钩，文采千匹，榻布皮革千石，漆千斗，棗、栗、盐、豉千石，鮀、鲨千斤，鰐千石，鮑千钩，枣栗千石者三之，狐、貂裘千皮，羔羊裘千石，旃席千具，它果菜千钟，子贷金钱千贯，节驵会，贪贾三之，廉贾五之，此亦比千乘之家，其大率也。它杂业不中什二，则非吾财也。

请略道当世千里之中，贤人所以富者，令后世得以观择焉。

蜀卓氏之先，赵人也，用铁冶富。秦破赵，迁卓氏。卓氏见虏略，独夫妻推辇，行诣迁处。诸迁虏少有余财，争与吏，求近处，

### 【今译】

上漆的木器、铁器及梔子、茜草千石，马七十六匹，牛二百五十头，羊、猪二千头，僮仆一百人，筋角、丹砂千斤，帛、丝絮、捆麻布千钩，有花纹的彩色丝织品千匹，粗布、皮革千石，漆千斗，酒曲、盐、豆豉千罐，鮀鱼、刀鱼千斤，小杂鱼千石，咸鱼千钩，枣、栗千石的三倍，狐皮、貂皮千张，羔羊皮裘千石，毡毯千条，其它水果蔬菜千钟，放贷的利息钱千贯，掮客出价，贪婪的商人获利十分之三，廉洁的商人获利十分之五，这样的财富也比得上有千乘战车的诸侯之家了，这是大概的情况。其它杂业的利润如果达不到十分之二，就不是我们追求的财富了。

请让我大略地说说当代方圆千里之内，贤能的人用来致富的方法，使后人能够观察选择。

蜀郡卓氏的祖先，是赵人，由于炼铁致富。秦国攻破赵国，迁徙卓氏。卓氏被虏掠，只有夫妻两人推车，走到迁徙地点。许多被迁徙虏掠的人稍有些余财，都争相送给官吏，乞求安排在近

bronze, a thousand piculs of safflower, plain wooden vessels and iron implements, two hundred horses, two hundred and fifty oxen, two thousand sheep and swine, a hundred slaves, a thousand catties of tendons, horns and cinnabar, thirty thousand catties of silk floss, a thousand bolts of patterned silk, a thousand piculs of coarse cloth, skin or hide, a thousand *dou*<sup>4</sup> of lacquer, a thousand *da*<sup>5</sup> of yeast, salt and salted beans; a thousand catties of large sea fish, a thousand piculs of small fish, thirty thousand catties of salted fish, three thousand piculs of jujubes and chestnuts, a thousand fox or squirrel furs, a thousand piculs of sheep skins, a thousand carpets, or a thousand *zhong* of fruit and vegetables; or if he lends out a thousand strings of cash, demanding an interest of thirty per cent from merchants who are greedy and fifty per cent from those who are scrupulous. This is the general rule. Various other trades which bring in a profit of less than twenty per cent are not worth pursuing.

Now let me speak briefly of how able men in recent times have made fortunes in different parts, so that later generations may profit by their example.

The ancestor of the Zhuo of Shu came from Zhao, where he made a fortune by smelting iron. When Qin conquered Zhao, the family was moved away and Zhuo and his wife as captives had to push a cart to the place assigned to them. Other captives who had little money asked the officers not to send them too far away, and were allowed to settle in Jiameng.

### 【原文】

处葭萌。唯卓氏曰：“此地狭薄。吾闻汶山之下，沃野，下有蹲鷀，至死不饥。民工于市，易贾。”乃求远迁。致之临邛，大喜，即铁山鼓铸，运筹策，倾滇蜀之民，富至僮千人。田池射猎之乐，拟于人君。

程郑，山东迁虏也，亦冶铸，贾椎髻之民，富埒卓氏，俱居临邛。

宛孔氏之先，梁人也，用铁治为业。秦伐魏，迁孔氏南阳。大鼓铸，规陂池，连车骑，游诸侯，因通商贾之利，有游闲公子之赐与名。然其赢得过当，愈于纤啬，家致富数千金，故南阳行贾尽法孔氏之雍容。

### 【今译】

处，安排在葭萌。只有卓氏说：“这里地方狭小土地贫瘠。我听说汶山下面有肥沃田野，地里长着像蹲鷀似的大芋头，人们到死也不会挨饿。百姓擅长做买卖，便于经商。”于是请求迁徙到远处。结果把卓氏迁徙到了临邛，卓氏大喜，就在有铁矿的山里鼓风铸造，运筹谋划，充分利用滇、蜀的百姓，豪富达到有僮仆千人。享受田园池林射猎的快乐，能和君主相比。

程郑，是从山东迁徙来的俘虏，也从事冶炼铸造业，把铁器产品卖给梳椎形发髻的土著居民，豪富和卓氏相同，都居住在临邛。

宛地孔氏的祖先，是梁人，以炼铁为业。秦国攻打魏国，孔氏被迁徙到南阳。他大规模冶炼铸造，规划治理池塘，乘着成队的车骑，在诸侯中周游，藉此开通经商的便利，博得了游闲公子乐善好施的行为和名声。但是他的赢利超过了赐予的，胜于吝啬小气的商人，家中的财富多达数千金，因此南阳人经商都效法孔氏的雍容大度。



But Zhuo said, "That is a circumscribed and barren region. I have heard that at the foot of Mount Wen there is fertile land where taros grow so well that no one need ever go hungry; and trade is easy in the local market."

So he asked to be sent far away and was assigned to Linqiong, to his great delight. Then he smelted iron ore from the mountain, contriving to have workers sent there from Dian and Shu. He became so rich that he had a thousand slaves and could live like a lord, hunting and shooting among the fields and lakes.

Cheng Zheng, who was taken captive east of the mountains and forced to resettle, smelted iron too and traded with the people who wear their hair in cone-shaped knots. He became as wealthy as Zhuo and also lived in Linqiong.

The ancestors of the Kong family of Wan came from Wei (403B.C.-225B.C.) where they had made a living by smelting iron. When Qin conquered Wei, the family was moved to Nanyang and carried on iron smelting on a large scale till Kong owned hills and lakes and a retinue of carriages and horses. He travelled through various states making money by trading, but had the name of a gentleman of leisure while he was making fabulous profits, far exceeding those of other tight-fisted merchants. His family came to have thousands of pieces of gold, and all the travelling merchants of Nanyang imitated his easy manner.

### 【原文】

鲁人俗俭啬，而曹邴氏尤甚，以铁冶起，富至巨万。然家自父兄子孙约，俯有拾，仰有取。贯穿行贾遍郡国。邹、鲁以其故多去文学而趋利者，以曹邴氏也。

齐俗贱奴虏，而刀间独爱贵之。桀黠奴，人之所患也，唯刀间收取，使之逐渔盐商贾之利。或连车骑，交守相，然愈益任之。终得其力，起富数千万。故曰“宁爵毋刀”，言其能使豪奴自饶而尽其力。

周人既纤，而师史尤甚，转毂以百数，贾郡国，无所不至。洛阳街居在齐秦楚赵之中，贫人学事富家，相矜以久贾，数过邑不入门，设任此等，故师史能致七千万。

### 【今译】

鲁人的风俗节俭吝啬，而曹地的邴氏尤其厉害，靠炼铁起家，财富多达亿万钱。但是家中从父兄到子孙一致约定，俯有所拾，仰有所取。放债经商遍及各郡国。邹、鲁因为这个缘故多有放弃文献学术而去追逐财利的人，因为受曹地邴氏的影响。

齐地的民俗是认为奴仆低贱，只有刀间喜爱重视他们。凶暴狡猾的奴仆，是人们所害怕的，只有刀间收留他们，让他们去谋求渔盐商贾的利润。有的人驾着成队的车骑，去结交郡守国相，而刀间更加听任他们。终于得到他们的帮助，发家致富达数千万钱。所以说“宁愿放弃官爵也不要放弃到刀家为奴”，说的是刀间能使有才能的奴仆自己富裕而又竭尽其力。

周人已经很吝啬，而师史尤其厉害，运货车辆数以百计，在郡国间经商，无处不到。洛阳街市位居齐、秦、楚、赵的中心，穷人学习效仿富裕人家，拿外出经商时间长、数次路过洛阳却不进家门来相互夸耀。能任用这样的人，所以师史能得到七千万钱。



The men of Lu are frugal and close-fisted, and the Bing family of Cao was more so than most. Although they made tens of thousands by smelting iron, the whole family from the grandparents to the grandchildren by common accord seized every chance to make money. They engaged in usury as well as trade in all the provinces and principalities. Indeed, it was owing to this family that so many people in Zou and Lu gave up the pursuit of learning to seek profit.

The men of Qi despise slaves, but Dao Jian treated his well. And whereas other men mistrusted cunning slaves, he specially looked out for them and set them to trade in fish and salt to make a profit for him. Some of his slaves travelled about in carriages with mounted retainers and made friends with provincial governors and ministers, but Dao Jian only trusted them the more, with the result that they helped him make tens of millions. Hence the saying, "An official title is not as good as working for Dao Jian." This was because he let his slaves become rich and powerful while utilizing their abilities to the full.

The men of Zhou are canny, and Shi Shi more than most. With a few hundred cartloads of goods, he traded in every single province and principality. Luoyang lies at the centre of Qi, Qin, Chu and Zhao, and the poor people in the city imitated the rich, priding themselves on making long business trips and passing their houses without time to cross the threshold. By employing such men, Shi Shi succeeded in making seventy million.



### 【原文】

宣曲任氏之先，为督道仓吏。秦之败也，豪杰皆争取金玉，而任氏独窖仓粟。楚汉相距荥阳也，民不得耕种，米石至万，而豪杰金玉尽归任氏，任氏以此起富。富人争奢侈，而任氏折节为俭，力田畜。田畜人争取贱贾，任氏独取贵善。富者数世。然任公家约，非田畜所出弗衣食，公事不毕则身不得饮酒食肉。以此为闾里率，故富而主上重之。

塞之斥也，唯桥姚已致马千匹，牛倍之，羊万头，粟以万钟计。吴楚七国兵起时，长安中列侯封君行从军旅，賚贷子钱，子钱家以为侯邑国在关东，关东成败未决，莫肯与。唯无盐氏出捐千金贷，其息什之。三月，吴楚平，一岁之中，则无盐氏之息什倍，用

### 【今译】

宣曲任氏的祖先，担任督道仓吏。秦朝衰败时，豪杰都争相夺取金玉，只有任氏把粮仓的米粟藏在窖里。楚、汉两军在荥阳相持对抗，百姓不能耕种，每石米的售价高达万钱，而豪杰们的金玉全都归了任氏，任氏靠此发家致富。富人争相奢侈，但任氏放下架子办事节俭，致力于农田畜牧。对于田地牲畜人们争相购买价格便宜的，只有任氏买价格贵而好的。富有延续了数代。然而任公的家规，不是自家农田畜牧出产的不穿不吃，官府的公事没有完成就不能喝酒吃肉。凭这个做乡里的榜样，因此他富有而皇上器重他。

边塞向外开拓时，只有桥姚已有马千匹，牛是马的两倍，羊一万头，粮食要以万钟计算。吴、楚七国起兵时，长安城中的列侯封君随从军旅出征，需要借有息贷款，放钱的人认为列侯封君的食邑封国在关东，关东战事胜负未决，没有人肯借贷。只有无盐氏拿出千金借贷，他的利息高达十倍。三个月后，吴、楚被平



The ancestor of the Ren family of Xuanqu was a granary officer at Dudao. When the Qin empire was overthrown and the chief citizens were scrambling for gold and jade, Ren's was the only family to store up grain. Soon the armies of Chu and Han (206B.C.-8A.D.) were locked in combat at Xingyang, the peasants could not farm and the price of a picul of rice rose to ten thousand. Then gold and jade flowed from the others to the Rens, who made a fortune. Most rich men rival each other in extravagance, but the Rens lived simply and frugally, farming and raising cattle. Most farmers and cattle-breeders look out for bargains, but they bought only the best and most valuable. That is why they have remained rich for generations. The elder Ren has a rule that the family must not eat or wear anything not produced from their own fields and pastures, and must not drink wine or eat meat till their business is finished. As a result, they are an example to the whole district, rich and highly regarded by the emperor.

After the extension of the northern frontier, Qiao Yao alone seized the opportunity to acquire a thousand horses, two thousand head of cattle, ten thousand sheep and ten thousand *zhong* of grain.

When Wu, Chu and the five other states revolted, the nobles in Chang'an joined the imperial army and tried to raise money for the expedition. But because their principalities lay east of the Pass and the outcome of the fighting there was uncertain, most of the money-lenders refused to make loans. Only the Wuyan family lent them a thousand pieces of gold at an interest of nine hundred per cent. When three months later the rebellion was crushed, Wuyan received a tenfold return on his money, becoming one of the richest men within the Passes.



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### 【原文】

此富埒关中。

关中富商大贾，大抵尽诸田，田啬、田兰。韦家栗氏，安陵、杜杜氏，亦巨万。

此其章章尤异者也。皆非有爵邑奉禄弄法犯奸而富，尽椎埋去就，与时俯仰，获其赢利，以末致财，用本守之，以武一切，用文持之，变化有概，故足术也。若至力农、畜、工、虞、商贾，为权利以成富，大者倾郡，中者倾县，下者倾乡里者，不可胜数。

夫纤啬筋力，治生之正道也，而富者必用奇胜。田农，掘业，而秦扬以盖一州。掘冢，奸事也，而田叔以起。博戏，恶业

### 【今译】

定。一年之中，无盐氏的利息就多达十倍，由于这个缘故他的富裕与关中相等。

关中地区的富商大买，大体上都是田氏，像田啬、田兰等。韦家的栗氏，安陵、杜县的杜氏，家产也有亿万钱。

这些都是特别显著突出的。都不是有官爵封邑俸禄或犯法行奸而致富，都是能推究事理决定去就，抓住时机俯仰应变，获得他的赢利，靠工商末业发财，用农耕本业守财，靠武力一时获取，用文明方法保持，变化而有章法，所以值得记述。至于像那些致力农耕、畜牧、手工、开发山泽、商贸等行业，靠权变获利来发财致富，大的富盖一郡，中的富盖一县，小的富盖乡里的，不可胜数。

节俭勤劳，是谋生的正道，而富有的人必定要出奇制胜。种田务农，是笨拙的行业，而秦扬凭这个富盖一州。盗墓，是犯法的事情，而田叔以此起家。赌博，是恶劣的行业，而桓发以此致



Most of the wealthiest merchants within the Passes belong to the Tian family, such as Tian Se and Tian Lan. The Li family of Weijia and the Du families of Anling and Du are also worth millions.

These are some of the most outstanding examples. None of these men had fiefs or government stipends, nor did they make money by evading the law or by sharp practice. They simply acted intelligently and kept up with the times. They made their fortunes in trade and handicrafts but preserved them through agriculture, seized their wealth in war but retained it by peaceful means. There was method in their rise to fortune which is worth studying.

Countless other cases might be cited of men who made money by working hard at farming, cattle-breeding, handicrafts, lumbering or trade, the greatest of them dominating provinces, the next counties, and the lesser ones villages.

Thrift and hard work are the proper way to make a living, yet men always owe their wealth to some special gift. Farming is rough work, yet by it Qin Yang became predominant in his province. Grave-robbing is evil, yet this gave Tian Shu a start in his career. Gambling is bad, yet that is how Huan Fa made his money. Peddling is a low occupation,



### 【原文】

也，而桓发用富。行贾，丈夫贱行也，而雍乐成以饶。贩脂，辱处也，而雍伯千金。卖浆，小业也，而张氏千万。酒削，薄技也，而郅氏鼎食。胃脯，简微耳，浊氏连骑。马医，浅方，张里击钟。此皆诚壹之所致。

由是观之，富无经业，则货无常主，能者辐凑，不肖者瓦解。千金之家比一都之君，巨万者乃与王者同乐。岂所谓“素封”者邪？非也？

### 【今译】

富。沿街叫卖，是男子汉认为低贱的行业，但雍地的乐成以此富饶。贩卖脂粉，是耻辱的事情，而雍伯获得千金。卖浆水，是小生意，而张氏赚钱千万。磨刀，是浅薄的技能，而郅氏以此能列鼎而食。羊肚，是微小的食品，而浊氏卖这个有了成队的车骑。医治马病，是浅薄的技术，张里以此鸣钟而食。这些都是对自己的行业诚心专一所致。

由此看来，致富没有一定的行业，财货也没有一定的主人，有才能的人使财富像车辐一样聚集归己，无能的人使财富土崩瓦解。千金之家可以与一都之君比富，亿万富翁就能与国王一样享乐。难道这就是通常所说的“素封”者吗？不是吗？

yet Le Cheng of Yong became wealthy in this way. Selling animal fat is degrading, yet by so doing Yong Bo made a thousand gold pieces. Hawking drinks is a poor trade, yet that is how the Zhang family made ten million. Sharpening knives requires little skill, yet it enabled the Zhi family to live like lords with food served in tripods. Selling preserved tripe is lowly enough, yet in this way the Zhuo family had a mounted retinue. A horse doctor is held cheap, yet Zhang Li had bronze bells to make music. All these men achieved wealth through single-mindedness.

From this we can see that there is no fixed road to wealth, and goods do not stay with the same master for ever. Wealth flows to those with ability as the spokes of a wheel converge upon the axle, but it slips like a smashed tile through the hands of incompetent men. A family with a thousand pieces of gold is comparable to the lord of a city; a man with millions can live like a king. Not for nothing are such men called "nobles without fiefs".

<sup>1</sup> Legendary emperor of ancient China.

<sup>2</sup> Last king of the Shang Dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> One *zhong* is equal to sixty-four pecks.

<sup>4</sup> About a peck.

<sup>5</sup> One *da* is equal to 1.6 *dou*.





## ABOUT THE TRANSLATORS

Yang Xianyi was born in Tianjin in 1915. His wife Gladys Yang was born in England in 1919. They both graduated from Oxford University in England in the 1930s. They were married in 1940 in China.

After teaching at several universities, they went to work for the National Compilation and Translation Bureau in 1943, in charge of translation of literary works. In 1952, they joined the Foreign Languages Press (now a division of the China International Publishing Group) in Beijing, where Yang Xianyi worked as the chief editor of the magazine *Chinese Literature*. At the same time, he was a foreign literature research fellow of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, a council member of the Chinese Writers Association and a council member of the Translators Association of China.

For many decades, Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang have devoted themselves to translating and research into Chinese and foreign literary legacies. Their translations of classical Chinese works of literature especially have brought them global fame, making a great contribution to the cultural exchanges between China and the rest of the world. Apart from their monumental translation of *A Dream of Red Mansions*, they have translated the *Elegy of Chu*, *Selections from Records of the Historian*, *The Dragon King Daughter*, *The Courtesan's Jewel-box*, *The Man Who Sold a Ghost*, *Palace of Eternal Youth*, *The Scholars* and a number of works by the famous modern Chinese writer Lu Xun.